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COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A MODEL FOR THE GHANAIAN VILLAGE

by

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G. D. Taylor

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Date April 24, 1984

The blood of villages is the cement with which
the edifice of cities is built.

- Mahatma Gandhi

To the Peasants who Wait Endlessly
for True Redemption

ABSTRACT

Education in Ghana has moved through various stages assuming different structures and functions under specific circumstances. Pre-colonial indigenous education had been informal, while colonial and post-independence neo-colonial education has been dominated by structured formal education or schooling. Schooling had been a support system for European modernization of Africa, servicing the wage economy and other socio-political structures established to buttress the hegemony of the metropole over Africans. Pre-colonial indigenous education had functioned principally as a cultural transmission agent. It prepared the young in the community for adult roles as productive members of the group; and as a process, education was fully integrated into the institutional structures of the community, with method and content of education emanating from community mores, values, aspirations, and level of technology.

Though the cultural transmission function is also exercised by schooling in Western cultures, schooling as imported from the West and superimposed on indigenous Ghanaian structures is significantly an instrument of alienation for school children from their surrounding milieu. Despite the support given schooling by the state apparatus - economic, social, and political - a majority of village populations are denied access to it, and these

"outsiders" still rely on indigenous education as the means for preparing themselves for life. Its general impact on the village has been that it uproots young village school graduates from their environment, from where they out-migrate into the cities, the only place where the general academic skills picked up from school are useful in white-collar occupations. A side effect of the continuous unchecked migration is that non-beneficiaries of formal education in the village are also deprived of any benefits of learning from these graduates. The overall consequences of this for the village, and the nation in general, is an education system that largely generates unemployment, encourages alienation, is characterized by irrelevance in education content and curriculum, engenders wastage, fosters discrimination resulting in inequalities, and is unable to link education to the community's development.

Community education, in its process and through its programmes, is conceptualized as problem-solving education, a panacea for the problems of Ghanaian education outlined above, with community development incorporated in its process. It seems then, that village community development geared toward consciousness raising of village communities to improve their physical surroundings, increase their earning power, and raise their general standard of living, can be realized with education as a catalyst or as a change inducing instrument.

One recognizes that the basic social characteristics needed to create a climate conducive to the practice of community education are already present within Ghanaian village communities. It is imperative, however, that in addition to this, any model of community education that would engender community development in the typical Ghanaian village must take cognisance of the indigenous education institutions and structures that schooling has so far failed to take advantage of. The successful implementation of the model, the village community education-as-an-enterprise model, must solicit and secure support from the wider national political, social, and economic institutions without the support of which it is doomed to fail. Thus, for a model of community education for community development in the Ghanaian village, one envisages an education system congruent with the socio-economic structures of the community and responsive to its problems and also able to fuse into the national system.

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Other individuals might have made various inputs though their contributions are not specified here. Librarians, discussion groups, and financial contributors also deserve to be mentioned here. The efforts of all of them are equally responsible for the realization of the research as it is composed here.

Despite these contributions, it is important to emphasize that the content of the thesis is my singular responsibility and thus, I am singularly culpable for any mistakes that might be discovered within its pages.

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CHAPTER ONE

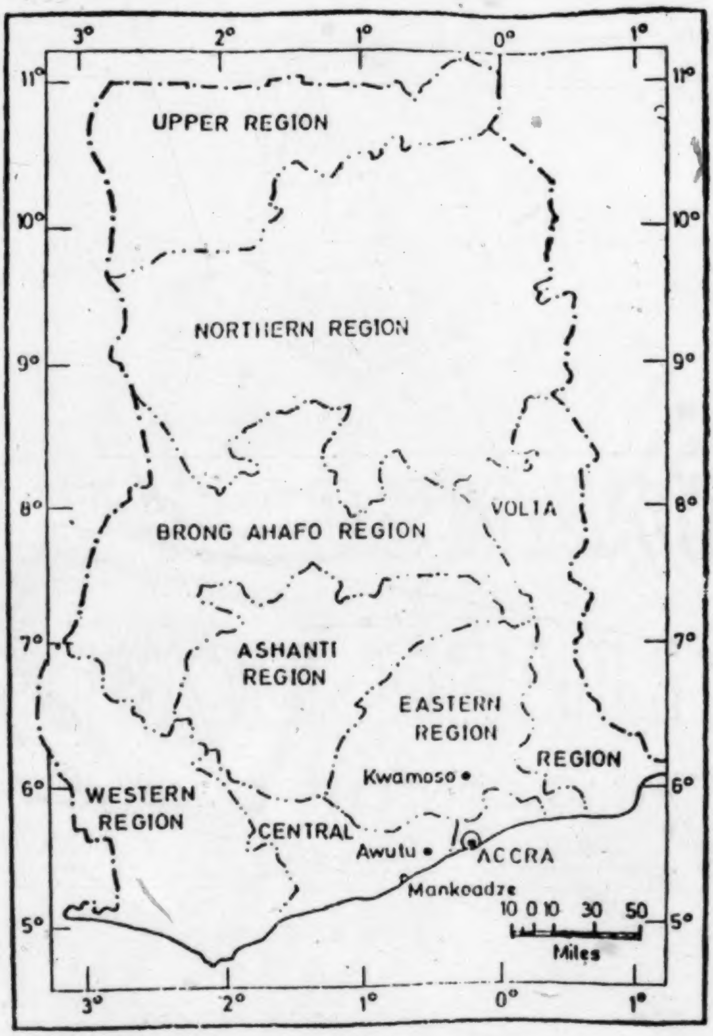
INTRODUCTION

The Nation

Ghana, known as the Gold Coast until 1957, had been under British political, economic, social, and educational influence since the earliest contacts between her people and British adventurers in the 16th Century. The coastal fringes became a British "protectorate" in 1844 following a treaty signed between the local Chiefs and the Commander of a British garrison dispatched to protect British trade interests in the area. From then on, a series of treaties and wars, or persuasion and coercion, led to the formation of a Gold Coast Colony that comprised almost the area covered by present-day Ghana in 1901. On the eve of independence in 1956, the British administered portion of the then Togoland (now the Republic of Togo) voted in a plebiscite to merge with the Gold Coast to constitute what is now the 239,000 square kilometers (92,000 square miles) land mass called Ghana (see map).

The historical ties with Britain, in which replicas of British political, economic and social institutions were superimposed on indigenous Ghanaian institutions, have resulted in a nation composed of small politically semi-autonomous ethnic entities. In spite of the many

Map 1: Ghana



Source: Kodwo Ewusi. Planning for the Neglected Rural Poor in Ghana. Accra: University of Ghana, 1978. p. 15.

similarities among these groups in religion, culture and some traditional customs, as well as the level of technological development, it is such symbols like the English language, trade and the educational system that became the prominent instruments of nationhood. It became necessary then, that if nationhood was to be maintained a centralized administration was indispensable. And so power got concentrated in the state controlled by the schooled elites, with its symbols of a national capital city, a lingua franca of the English language, national holidays, and a hierarchy of regional and national administrations developed together with a state apparatus of the army, the police, the civil service and the educational system.

The nation's development since then has followed a path of inconsistency and instability. Her politics have been characterized by a shift from one political system to another, beginning with the British parliamentary democracy, through a socialist one-party state, followed by two other republics, and interspersed with a spate of military dictatorships.

Political instability, manifested in twelve governments within a period of twenty-two years (1960-1981), has resulted in a nation in serious economic crisis today. Once a prosperous nation with foreign reserves of 200 million pounds sterling at independence - generated by a booming cocoa, gold, diamond and timber trade - the nation's economy is now tethering at the brink of collapse. With such economic indicators as a GNP per capita of $400 U.S., an annual economic growth rate of -1.1 per cent in 1980, a life expectancy of 54 years at birth, an average annual population growth rate of 3.0 per cent, and an inflation rate running at around 990 per cent, the World Development Report[1] classified Ghana among the lowest income countries in the world. Natural disasters like drought are creating famine by causing devastating effects on agriculture, the mainstay of the country's economy. These facts are evidence of a nation in deep economic and social trouble. The worsening economic conditions have had their socio-political concomitants in upheavals which can only predict an uncertain future for the 11.8 million people.

Inequalities are visible from the dualistic structures of settlements, the economy, politics, education and other modern social institutions. An elite-dominated urban sector has established hegemony over the peasant-dominated rural sector. While the cities are characterized by indices of modernization in the amenities they enjoy, values, attitudes and, in general, western culture, the villages are largely traditional in all aspects of life.

In education, adult literacy is 30 per cent. Of the age group qualified to be in school, 69 per cent have found places in the primary schools and a mere one per cent in higher education.[2] These levels of school preparation are reflected in the imbalances of representation in the work force. Some 60 per cent of the total work force are engaged in agriculture, 10 per cent in industry and commerce, and the remaining 30 per cent in the administrative and service sectors of the economy. Most of those engaged in agriculture are domiciled in the villages.

The Ghanaian Village

The village is the usual unit of settlement in rural Ghana. In fact, an overwhelming majority of the total number of settlements in the country (84.6 per cent) have populations of fewer than 200 persons (Ewusi 1978:44) and 47,634 (97 per cent) of the total 47,769 settlements are villages.[3] Apart from differences in physical size or area covered, villages have common characteristics with respect to their inhabitants. There might be a few atypical ones, especially those located in close proximity to cities which may experience a spillover of the cities' characteristics, but even then the smallness of their sizes may engender the typical village attributes found in other villages.

i. Physical Conditions

Rural Ghana spans coastal grassland and marshes, the hinterland rain forests and the northern savannah which covers 52 per cent of the country's total land area. The inhabitants are sheltered in houses or compounds and construction materials for these shelters include mud or swish, wood and corrugated iron sheets that replace the otherwise thatched roofs. Occasionally, one comes across houses built of concrete cement blocks.

Villages usually lack social amenities like health centres, pipe-borne water, electricity, post office, markets, feeder roads, a community recreational hall, nursery facilities and school blocks. Often, the provision of these modern amenities becomes the target of government sponsored community development programmes. The absence of educational facilities can be very acute. Schools are so rare that Ewusi (1978:145) found in his study that six villages shared an elementary school which was attended by children from villages within a radius of eight kilometres. In more extreme cases, classes may be temporarily conducted in the shade of trees.[4]

The nucleated (collection of contiguous houses) villages of the south sometimes have their own satellites of farm houses and cottages. Many village residents shuttle between the two residential areas during the year. Farm houses or cottages are built mainly because farms are located far away from the villages. Villagers whose farms are a long distance away from the village (sometimes 10 to 20 kilometres away) prefer to inhabit them seasonally (Ewusi 1978:145) in order to meet land clearing, planting or harvesting responsibilities. Sometimes parents of a school-going child are unable to secure a temporary home with relatives for the child in the village when they have to move to their farm house in a peak farming season. They are thus forced to take the child along with them to go and live on the farm for the period they spend there. In such circumstances the child's school attendance is interrupted and in many cases the affected child keeps repeating classes until eventually he or she drops out of school. These disruptions resulting from the seasonal shuttle between village and farm house are therefore a contributory factor to the rise in repetition and drop-out rates among village school children.

Often, village houses are arranged in rows with lanes and streets in between; and they are grouped into quarters. Each quarter organizes its own health and sanitation services, designating areas for refuse disposal, places of convenience (provided along gender lines), and water resources such as wells. The cemetery, like the school, is located in the outskirts. School sharing may also mean the location of a school at an equidistant point between two or more villages. A group of villages may also share facilities like a health centre, post office, police post or market (which is even more rare than the school), or they may be located close to a town or city that has those facilities.

A farm (feeder) road may stretch many kilometers into farmlands, usually dusty and intersected by precarious wooden bridges that span the many rivulets. Footpaths branch off at several points to service farming areas further removed from the main road, the only one plied by the farm trucks. Farm access roads are sometimes impassable, especially in the rainy season. During those periods farm activities are disrupted. Construction of these roads and their maintenance is the responsibility of the villages (in co-operation with other villages traversed by the road).

ii. Economic Activities

Villages are mostly undifferentiated farming communities (Roberts 1975:249). Farming is the dominant economic activity. Villagers cultivate cash crops like cocoa (major cash crop), coffee, palm oil, coconut, sugar cane, cola, citrus or rubber and subsistence or food crops such as cassava, plantain, cocoyam, yam and rice. Both types of crops are cultivated by slash and burn methods and subsistence farming, especially in the forest areas, is mainly the responsibility of women. Those villages dotted along the banks of big rivers, lakes and the seashore may, however, engage in more fishing than farming. Most lucrative among the cash crops are cocoa and coffee which do well in the mid- and south-western forests, or in pockets along the eastern fringes. In the savannah and grassland areas, the emphasis is on the cultivation of rice, corn, millet and other cereals as well as yam and cassava. Both yam and cassava are also popular in the forest areas where the main food crops are plantain and cocoyam. Corn is another favoured crop among some farmers in the forest regions. Vegetables are widely grown in forest and grassland areas.

Poultry keeping is generally a supplementary activity to crop farming and some farmers keep goats and sheep. Cattle rearing is practised in the northern savannah or southern grasslands. Together with trapping, these constitute the main meat protein source for villagers though they meet a substantial part of their animal protein requirements from the markets where fish brought from the coast is available. Cattle rearing may be the principal source of income for some families in the savannah grasslands.

Occasionally, one comes across artisans like mobile tailors, carpenters, craftsmen and masons. Their skills are mainly utilized during the lean farming season because they are all usually engaged in crop farming in the major agricultural seasons. Even those engaged in more specialized occupations, such as blacksmiths, herbalists and traditional midwives, own farms. The one or two shop owners open their shops after farm work or on work-free days. In the modern economy, their activities could be classified as full-time and part-time jobs. But in the village economy such terms may be inappropriate since the intensity with which one engages in an activity is seasonally determined. Villagers, whether as individuals or as a community, strive for economic self-sufficiency and often do engage in various jobs - using the skills which they might have acquired from the complex learning situations that confront them - as the need arises. A village may have a few migrant farm labourers among its community but generally indigenes who may offer services as labourers do own their personal farms and offer their labour only to meet cash emergencies. Two or more individuals may supplement their labour by entering into co-operative bilateral or multilateral arrangements called nnoboa (reciprocal labour) by which each member takes a turn to host the rest on his farm, enjoying their free labour on that day.

Land, the most precious village economic asset, is jointly owned. Individuals may, however, own small pieces of land since everyone is entitled by birthright to a piece of land. But the greater proportion of the land is family owned, or are stool or skin[5] lands. Government forest reserves, parks or game reserves form the remaining land in the country. Outright sale of land is almost unknown, although term leasing is permitted. Villagers' land may be trampled or trespassed on by externally motivated activities, such as lumbering, which damage their crops. Encroachment may also come from mining ventures, which reduce soil fertility; although compensation may be paid in both instances.

Traditional calendars make provision for special days of rest, or work-free days, during which all farm work is banned. Sanctions for violating this ban consist mainly of fines. There are also days on which all members of the extended family give free labour to the clan head. As stated elsewhere, the concept of nnoboa, or reciprocal labour, guarantees individual or groups some hours of much needed labour by paying reciprocal working visits to each other's farms. Reciprocity symbolizes the co-operation and interdependence that the extended family system fosters. Within an extended family, however, individuals or nuclear families are expected, in their own right, to work hard to make a mark in competition against other family members or groups.

Technology available to the villagers is simple. Farming tools consist primarily of ordinary cutlasses, matchets, sickles or hoes. In the north, some farmers utilize bullock and other beasts of burden for ploughing and for transportation. Firearms, usually for hunting game, include either imported double-barrelled guns, with their cartridges, or the locally manufactured dane guns - a handiwork of the local blacksmith. Foot-wear is mostly locally made from leather processed in the north where cattle rearing is a supply source. Indigenous clothing items, like the kente and the smock,[6] are hand woven by local artisans using locally built looms. Some villages specialize in weaving or in other crafts like pottery.

Ewusi's (1978:28) study of six villages estimated villagers' average household income at ¢371.11 and ¢503.11 per worker per annum (about $134.94 and $182.94 U.S. respectively at the rate of ¢2.75 to $1.00 U.S. at that time). Households earning less than ¢1,200.00 ($436.36 U.S.) per annum, at the time of his study, were considered as falling into the lower income class. Surprisingly, this appeared to exceed the minimum wage (of ¢360.00 or $130.90 U.S.) per annum paid then to workers in the modern sector economy of the urban areas. But given that rural households are more likely to be larger and that proximity to the extended family circle means the likelihood of one spending on nephews and nieces too, even with an enhanced social value of his income,[7] the villagers' income could have been less in its total value than the minimum wage.

iii. Social Characteristics

Relationships in the village are significantly consanguinous. Wards or entire villages may trace their lineage to a common ancestor. The school may succeed in taking the youngsters away one by one, but those who remain are little touched by the western nuclear family pattern that has crept into urban communities. Culturally, the village community is homogenous, approximating in nature Tonnies' theoretical construct of "Gemeinschaft" and Durkheim's notion of mechanical solidarity. Communications are interpersonal. Redifusion box services that used to be rendered to some villages by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation have disappeared with the declining economy; or those who still cling on to their transistor radio sets suffer a dearth of dry cells necessary to operate them, owing to import restrictions.

Status symbols include ownership of large acreages of farms and bounteous yields, cement block houses, expensive kente cloths or smocks, gold jewellery, and the ability to send many children to school. Not everyone is obsessed with the desire to acquire these, however. Some people may have the means and yet show little or no interest in acquiring or flamboyantly displaying them. Individuals may be accorded prestige because of their wealth or because they are employed in a respected profession like a herbalist or midwife, or because they hold political offices. Teachers, policemen and any Government officials who come to the village invariably enjoy social prestige because they have either been to school or are representing Aban[8] (the Government). Government is perceived as the omnipotent yet distant body whose only business with the village is to issue orders, levy taxes, and, in its magnanimity, provide villagers with amenities such as schools, post offices, pipe-borne water, health centres and others. In fact, the paternalistic nature of the Government is oftentimes isomorphic with the village community's perception of it. In the rare elections, villages will quickly join the bandwagon and vote for the party most likely to win because to them the kinds of social amenities and how quickly a village gets them depend "upon the number of votes delivered by your village to the winning party."[9]

Gender inequalities that exist within the village community is partially caused by ascribed economic roles along sex lines in the family and in the community through the socialization process. The man cultivates the cash crops that bring greater income into the family than the food crops grown by the woman. He is, thus, the bread-winner who undertakes all the hazardous tasks and receives greater status and recognition. The woman's role as the family's marketer - selling in the market - is in these days helping to close whatever gender gap might exist because the trading activities women engage in yield more profits and raise their income levels. Men, however, have greater access to political offices, though women have some powerful parallel offices reserved for them, too.

The real impact on the discussions in this thesis of the socio-economic characteristics of the village community in Ghana will begin to emerge in the ensuing chapters. But, meanwhile, suffice it to say, that in spite of the effects of westernization which has touched every village in one form or another, villagers still cling to traditional practices and do indeed rely on them in most cases.

Meanwhile the background of education in Ghana through the years is recaptured as an introduction to later description and analysis of the current educational system.

The Nation's Educational Background

As will be learned later, community education and community development are not new terminologies in Ghana. Though their official conceptualizaation is more recent, dating to colonial literature in the 1940's and 1950's, in practice, their basic tenets have been embedded in the nation's social system since pre-colonial days. Any discussion of the concepts, however, is unlikely to be exhaustive without reference to their broader and more encapsulating roots - education and development. This is dealt with in the next chapter.

Educational models, however, have often had to respond to societal needs as prescribed by prevailing models of development in the society's continuing search for growth and advancement. This partially accounts for the dynamic nature and character of education in its social role as an agent of socialization. While educational costs have been on the increase, education is becoming less able to meet the expectations, especially its "misperceived" role as sole agent for development, assigned to it by some educators and educationists. The more it has to respond to and support social, economic and political structures of westernization, the more its repercussions on the traditionally inclined village communities assume negative tendencies in its historical development. The historical transformation of education in Ghana has, albeit, been proceeding - beginning from its informal patterns in the pre-colonial era known as indigenous or traditional education, through colonial education, neocolonial education and to the present search for "education for national development."[10]

i. Indigenous Education

The elaboration on this important type and stage of education, in the view of this thesis, is undertaken in a later chapter; but for now, one needs to assert that the survival of the culture of the village community, in spite of the numerous western acculturation schemes, has partially been dependent on indigenous education as an agent of cultural transmission. It has also been a vital instrument for the transmission of the communalistic characteristics of the community - that quality that facilitates the mobilization of citizens to undertake activities that go to improve their environmental conditions and lifestyle.

Not much attention, however, is paid to this stage of education in Ghana by writers and observers of the Ghanaian education scene. This is particularly so in the case of in-depth analysis. Graham (1971) does not deal with it at all in his The History of Education in Ghana, though his historical account is presumed to date to the earliest times. Philip Foster briefly refers to it in his 322-page Education and Social Change in Ghana.[11] Busia (1964) and Wilson (1963) devote a chapter each to treating the subject from a wider African perspective. And McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975) have an afterthought chapter on the topic in a revised edition of McWilliam's early work entitled The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline, first published in 1959.

The general message from the scanty accounts that are available is that regardless of its limitations, indigenous education - the only mode of education before the arrival of Europeans - served as an effective cultural transmission device; and through a curriculum of poetry, oratory, aesthetics, history, environmental studies, and so on, inculcated both oral and practical skills into the youths and adults to enable them to function constructively in their roles in the community. Also, learning and working went together. Indigenous education was and has been compulsory: to ensure that the individual was taught to acquire skills to make him a productive member in, and not a liability to, his family and his community. Its basics were and are truly universal. Indigenous education has, however, been faulted for its seeming lack of scientific methods or reflective inquiry. But it will be seen later how some of its methods can still be useful in community education.

ii. Colonial Education

This stage of education stretches from the beginning of the castle schools in 1529[12] to the inception of the first semi-autonomous indigenous cabinet in 1951. The colonial stage may be sub-divided into two periods: (1) the pre-colonial mercantilist cum missionary dominated period of schooling from the arrival of Europeans to the 19th century and (2) the period of colonialism in the 20th century.

The curriculum of the castle schools emphasized the "Three R's," which meant reading, writing and religion or reading, writing and arithmetic, depending on whether missionaries or mercantilists sponsored, funded and controlled the school. Schooling during that period aimed at training clerks and messengers for traders, catechists and evangelists for missionaries, or interpreters for both. The flourishing trade with the Europeans and the minimal education provided during those times were confined to the forts and castles on the country's littoral area. Principally, the clientele of the schools were the sons (and later the daughters) of European traders by African wives, better known as "mulattoes" on the coast; thus the reason for restricting the schools to those areas.

Graham (1971:10-11) notes that even this initial demand for schooling was not random and that "a definite process of selection, however limited, was at work, propelled by those who were peripheral to the indigenous society." It has also been speculated that Chiefs' sons had been recruited and given the privilege of schooling in anticipation of their succeeding their fathers upon their death (Graham 1971:10), but this was probably not the case since the majority (especially those sons of the powerful Asante Chiefs) could not have succeeded their fathers, given the matrilinial system of inheritance and succession characteristic of many ethnic groups in the country.

British political sovereignty over Ghana (then the Gold Coast) was established by the opening years of the 20th century when its fragmented "possessions" were amalgamated under a central British control. A new and more rigorous mode of formal education was introduced as the need arose to train more indigenes to supplement the colonial administrative cohort. This was the era of true colonial education and, as such, took on the role of what Carnoy (1974:113-155) calls "education as cultural imperialism." Given the paternalistic position taken by the British, metropolitan economic, religious and educational institutions were transplanted in earnest and reinforced with the imposition of the English language as the national official language as well as British culture. Moreover, through the open and hidden curriculum of the colonial schooling system, metropolitan values were overtly and covertly internalized among those who went through the school system. In other words, schools during the colonial period, through the value structure of the school system, were breeding an elitist intellectual group, a petit bourgeoisie, who were to act as the media through whom the cultural, political and economic influences of Britain were to be perpetuated.[13]

Indigenous Ghanaian societal values, norms, customary practices, religion, law, languages and institutions were consistently frowned upon with utmost contempt, and were condemned as evil, primitive and unproductive. To ensure that these "evils" did not contaminate the school atmosphere (where all behaviour and attitudes were expected to reflect British lifestyle), boarding schools were encouraged to reinforce the spatial distance that was always created between the school and the village community.[14] In addition, knowledge was defined in terms of cognitive skills taught by the colonial educational institutions and recognized through credentialism.

Mineral extraction and commercial activities that were being steadily expanded led to the rise and growth of urban settlements with its concomitant emergence of a wage economy. The base for white-collar jobs expanded and this siphoned young school graduates from the villages in droves into the cities in search of the new job opportunities. The society became polarized into a modern urbanized service sector with a wage economy and a traditional rural sector with a subsistence economy. Rewards for school graduates were thus restricted to the former.

Facilities for schooling were very limited in all sectors of the colonial Ghanaian society but more so in the villages, where access to schools and opportunities for the new education were virtually non-existent. Indeed, the few schools available at that time were concentrated in the big towns and cities. Opportunity to enroll in schools was thus essentially the privilege of the children of the emerging urban business comprador class, the educated middle-class elite, and the Chiefs who were the traditional elite. Rural children were handicapped by distance, ignorance and the inaccessibility of schools to them. The few who managed to gain access to the schools were quickly absorbed and assimilated into the western culture, immediately following their graduation.

Thus, the colonial education system in Ghana made a significant contribution to the dialectical relationship between colony and metropole (that is Britain) whereby the latter prospered from the exploitation of the former, while the former remained underdeveloped because its resources went into servicing the British economy.[15] Education was aiding in the perpetuation of the country's peripheral status. In time, a similar relationship developed indigenously between the urban dwellers and the impoverished ruralites who were expected to produce enough food to feed the urbanites. This was the general trend during the colonial period of education until the first wholly Ghanaian cabinet was inaugurated in 1951. But even members of this cabinet were, as Fanon puts it, "black skins with white masks" having gone through the mill.[16]

iii. Neo-Colonial Education

By the time internal political self-government was achieved in Ghana, formally structured schooling - the continuous, graded, selective educational process typified by the existence of classes, grades, graded curriculum (usually more abstract than practical), certified teachers and extensive evaluation processes, among others - had been firmly implanted. And the system has persisted until the present. Since 1911, it has defied all attempts to transform it into a more responsive system, reflective of the peculiarities of Ghanaian society. In effect, education has been neo-colonialist, that is, it has depended on the colonial apparatus which had been established to serve a colonial purpose and to guarantee continued subjugation of the colony to the colonial power. Although changes were attempted by legislation or plans like the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, the Education Act of 1961, and the Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development,[17] these proved to be merely cosmetic.

Right from its beginnings the new Government plunged into hitherto unprecedented educational expansion programs for increased enrollments, teacher training, expanded facilities and the like. And the development model it adopted was the one provided by Arthur Lewis.[18] Implicitly, the execution of that modernization model called for support from the school system to produce graduates to fill positions that were to be created in commerce, industry and the administrative services. This model prescribed massive investments in infrastructural construction - roads, railways, communication networks - and social services like health, nutrition and education. Thus, in the course of the First Five-Year Plan (1951-56)[19] investments in the infrastructure and social services averaged 88.8 per cent of total investments, with only 11.2 per cent of investment being channelled into the productive sector of the economy. It was the responsibility of the educational system to provide the manpower positions created by the rapid industrialization which was an outstanding feature of the modernization programme that the Government had embarked upon, and it was this idea that led to the launching of the Accelerated Development Plan in Education of 1951.

The Plan's major achievement was the expansion of formal educational facilities. Many villages saw schools for the first time; whether they were organized under trees or in church buildings, or in any improvised facilities. Primary school enrollment in Government schools went up from 154,360 in 1951 to 335,094 in 1952 and to 436,854 at the end of the Plan period in 1956. Middle school enrollments for those three years were 66,175; 80,013 and 108,548 respectively while secondary enrollments were 2,368; 4,442 and 8,299.[20] President Kwame Nkrumah[21] justifies his "proud record" in education during the ten-year period 1951-1961 as indicated by the figures in Table I:

Table I: School Enrollment Expansion
1951-1961

	1951	1961	% Increase
Primary Schools	154,360	481,500	211.9
Middle Schools	66,175	160,000	141.7
Secondary & Technical Schools	3,559	19,143	437.8
Teacher Training Colleges	1,916	4,552	137.5
University Students	208	1,204	478.8

Source: Kwame Nkrumah, Dark Days in Ghana, New York: International Publishers, 1968, p. 77.

Impressive as these figures may be, the fact remains that educational opportunities still favoured the children of the embryonic urban elite comprising professionals, bureaucrats and the comprador business class and to some extent the traditional elite (i.e., the Paramount Chiefs). The reported massive progress is neutralized also by estimates that enrollments in public primary and middle schools as percentage of estimated population had fallen from 44.5 per cent in 1951 to 38.8 per cent in 1961.[22] Moreover, no serious attempts had been made to indigenize the curriculum, organizational structures, evaluation methods, selection and other neo-colonialist inspired aspects of schooling. Fewer villages had schools and secondary schools were clustered along the coast and around a few inland cities and towns. Schools were thus almost inaccessible to villagers. The same was true of the university.[23]

Coincidentally, 1951 was also the year the formal British conception of "community development" was exported to Ghana.[24] Village projects were undertaken based on the principles of self-help and communal labour. Villagers began to provide themselves with amenities like feeder roads, good drinking water, health posts or centres, school buildings and equipment, and day care centres. Government animateurs and facilitators, supposedly through the technique of induced felt needs, and with the support of technical and material assistance by Government, were the catalysts behind these projects. The programme was executed together with its twin concept, mass education or literacy classes, in which adults were taught reading and writing. Rote learning was the main method. In effect, functional literacy practice, in which subject matter was linked to the learners' economic activities, was ignored. The trend continued through the achievement of independence in 1957 (the first Black African colony to become independent) to 1960 when the nation achieved republican status.

By 1960, the Government had realized that its economic programmes, which emphasized infrastructural and industrial development and which emanated from the capitalistic modernization theory, were exerting great stress on the economy. Heavy importation of capital and other goods had depleted foreign reserves and the bulk of foreign exchange earnings was coming from the country's single crop - cocoa. To diversify the economy by shifting emphasis from providing social infrastructural facilities to production, the Government adopted "radical" socialist, reconstructionist, central planning during the immediate post-republican years.[25] The first major manifestation of the new orientation was the Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development which aimed at heavier and accelerated modernization through industrialization based on state ownership and control over all key economic institutions and investments, and also aimed at national mobilization for productive labour in agriculture.

The Education Act of 1961, which preceded the Plan's educational policy, legislated fee-free and compulsory elementary (primary and middle school) education. By 1963, free textbooks were also being supplied. Highlights of the Plan's educational goals included intensified science education including elementary school science,[26] establishment of the University College of Science Education, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and the Ghana Academy of Sciences. It also made mathematics and general science compulsory subjects for all secondary school students. Also, practical training gained new impetus. As the Act stated:

> ... the purpose of elementary education will no longer be to fit youths to enter white-collar occupations but to fit them for all jobs that need to be done in the economy. The curriculum, the content and the whole orientation of the elementary schools have to be changed in the light of the new circumstances.[27]

Continuation schools, designed to teach various trades related to the industrial and construction sectors of the economy, modern agricultural techniques, typing and shorthand, together with simple office routine, elementary bookkeeping and accountancy - all to boys, and some commercial and manipulative skills as well as domestic science and handicrafts to girls,[28] replaced the last two years of the general curriculum of the ten-year elementary school education. Any impact the education element of the Plan could have had on either increased educational opportunity for the village child or the stimulation of development in the village remains hypothetical since the programme was aborted only two-and-a-half years following its implementation.[29] Virtually all its provisions were reversed by military and civilian regimes which succeeded one another in turns. Education maintained its neo-colonialist character thenceforth, as it continued to exist on the colonial structures;[30] as such, it has never functioned to offset urban elitist domination of the rural masses.

A return to liberal capitalist policies by the military junta that assumed state power in 1966, after overthrowing the pro-socialist Nkrumah Government and by the civilian collaborator that succeeded it later, also meant a return to conservative liberal education plans. Science programs were curtailed and there was a resurgence of liberal arts study. Villagers' already limited access to education lessened as the number of elementary schools were pruned down. Many primary schools were either merged or completely shut down.

Thus their numbers fell from 8,144 in the year of the coup de'etat (1966) to 7,913 the following year (1967). During the same period, the number of middle schools fell from 2,777 to 2,346.[31] The chances of village children entering even the primary school became slimmer as a result of these measures.

Most actions pertaining to the military regime's educational reforms stemmed from a report prepared by a committee appointed by it during the period 1966-69. This committee was to conduct a comprehensive review of the educational system of Ghana at all levels and then make recommendations and suggest reforms for improving the system and eliminating inefficiency and waste.[32] Not surprisingly, this liberal pro-establishment, elitist committee expressed concern over the ostensibly falling post-independence educational standards which, it felt, were having negative effects on:

> ... levels of academic achievement, quality of teaching and learning efficiency of supervision, adequacy of staffing, accommodation and equipment and norms of discipline and behaviour in educational institutions.[33]

The Committee never hid its concern and disenchantment with the rapid expansion of educational facilities under the previous socialist government in order to spread what it considered the benefits of education to the village communities. It complained that the precursor Government's accelerated programme of educational expansion was put into operation before adequate numbers of qualified teachers and other personnel were available. It also expressed dissatisfaction with the many politicians and political appointees who had mediocre schooling and lacked other desirable qualities who were appointed to public offices of high responsibility, and with large emoluments. This, according to the committee, created the impression that higher schooling achievement was not essential to advancement in Ghanaian society. Apparently, its members, from their privileged positions, would prefer linking schooling directly to social mobility. No wonder its recommendations were tantamount to throwing overboard the relatively pro-mass schooling policies of the preceding Government.

Other important steps prior to 1982 were the setting up of a National Advisory Committee on Curriculum (NACC) in July 1973, and the establishment of the Ghana Education Service in December 1973, which followed a power struggle between the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) and the civil service bureaucracy over the control of pre-university education. There was also the introduction of a new structure and content of education in 1974.[34]

The years following 1966 have been, in Ghana, years of unsettled, unstable regimes, as coup after coup forcibly removed governments. Educational policies vacillated according to the leftist or rightist leanings of governments and suffered indecision, inconsistency, lack of time to implement policies and programmes, and the struggle for control over education between the practising professional teachers and the civil service technocrats and bureaucrats. Disregard for the positive qualities of indigenous modes of education, which began with the inception of schooling in the 16th century, continues with the trend for imported models of education to be superimposed on the traditional modes. Political and economic structures and planning, from which education is defined and controlled, remain overcentralized, just as they remain elitist. Separation between school and work has been institutionalized. The curriculum has always been geared towards general education, emphasizing the teaching of cognitive skills, skills that give access to jobs, even for rural school graduates, only in the urban service sector of the economy. Consequently, practical skills necessary for agriculturally based occupations like crop farming and animal husbandry and vocations like tailoring, carpentry, masonry, auto repairs and so on are still acquired through the apprenticeship system and chiefly from illiterate or semi-literate "masters." These programmes seldom receive Government attention and support.

Government educational policies have, therefore, largely been geared towards training manpower for white-collar or at best blue-collar jobs in the modern urban sector of the economy. There have not been any active programmes to develop, among the Ghanaian population in general, "brown-collar" (or khaki-clad agricultural workers) skills or to develop among rural residents skills which they either could apply to the economic activities in which they are involved or could use to raise their income and living standards. The few children within village communities who are able to gain access to some sort of schooling are forced to migrate to the cities since the education it provides is of little relevance to the rural environment. Further, excessive centralization denies the villagers any participation in educational ventures. High drop-out rates make a mockery of compulsory universal formal education and uphold the pessimism of authors like Ivan Illich[35] and Rossana Rossanda[36] who argue that indeed universal schooling is unachievable in societies where there is stark inequality - like the city and village imbalance present in Ghana. Education, as represented by schooling, does little in the way of relating the skills it fosters to the economic activities of the village. And the village community remains alienated spatially (both socially and physically) from the school. Social mobility within the village or the rural community, if any exists, is contested especially from the economic perspective though the highest political offices are ascriptive. The competition for stature and respect does not, however, preclude co-operation among villagers in their economic endeavours. Farmers' children must compete, through the unfair examinations of the hierarchical education system, with the advantaged children of the elite group of professionals, bureaucrats, university dons and others, if they are to advance through schooling.

Under these circumstances schooling may not be the best institution to engender development among the village community. Perhaps this is what has triggered the ongoing search for a model of education that would support development in the village. Decentralization, the "Okonjo Plan" (which requires university students to offer compulsory community service), and the establishment of community secondary schools are some of the strategies the Government is considering in its efforts to resolve the problem of education for the development of rural villages. And this is the problem which this thesis will address.

The Problem

From the wider theoretical perspective of the relationship between education and development, the thesis examines the Ghana national education system to establish the extent to which its machinery in the village is promoting development there. The subject of investigation includes such strategies as the "Okonjo Plan" and community secondary schools.

For clarity and objectivity, some known community education models in other parts of the world are mentioned. Both the models which are present in Britain and North

America, as well as the versions which are built into the broader socialist educational systems are discussed.

The analysis focuses on the Ghanaian village and the impact on it of educational policies evolved and devolved from the centre. It attempts to establish a common ground between the needs of the village (both economic and social) for development and the various forms of education (traditional and formal) and their integrating characteristics.

It then endeavours to resolve the central problem by proposing a model of community education that responds to the established village institutions and structures in such a way that it is likely to motivate the village community to engage in learning activities that are possible levers for both individual and community progress.

Scope of the Study

The study is contemporaneous, focusing on the Ghanaian village of today. Census data gathered in 1970 identify 47,634 village settlements throughout the country, using the United Nations definition of 5,000 persons as the upper limit for its population. That figure represents 84.6 per cent of the total number of settlements in the country. With respect to socio-economic structures and organization, Ghanaian villages differ only marginally from one another. Moreover, large sections of urban settlements exhibit some village characteristics like poverty and illiteracy; characteristics sufficiently close to warrant similar prescriptions for educational reform in order to achieve goals similar to those of rural development. Microcosmic though the study might seem, it is still hoped that it would qualify for national generalization and application.

Purpose of the Study

As already mentioned, the project is considered as part of the ongoing process to discover educational alternatives to the current system which is school centred. There is little doubt that education, as is recognized, defined and organized by the Government, does not cater to the out-of-school population, be they adults or children (i.e., drop-outs). Recently, the head of the military junta observed that "Ghanaians have become victims to their environment instead of controlling it,"[37] and it is almost a truism that the school, in its present character, prepares students for a milieu that may never be realized, instead of inculcating in them the skills and values that will enable them to change the unsuitable rural conditions that prevent them from making a satisfactory living.

It aims at a departure from past approaches to educational reform that project innovation in such negative ways that their methods are perceived by villagers with passiveness and often forced to refer to Government sponsored projects as "their project" and not "our project."[38] Notwithstanding its micro approach, it devises a strategy, "the village community education-as-enterprise model," that seeks to redress the imbalance between the traditional and the formal education systems by reviving and infusing into the entire educational system the virtues and practical methods inherent in the traditional system. It is a kind of "pedagogy of production" package - an educational delivery package that incorporates ideas like socially and economically useful labour, the teaching of both cognitive and vocational skills and the creation of links among the political, social and economic structures of the rural polity in order to reduce the discrepancy between the rural dweller and the urban dweller. The thesis, indeed, is an attempt at accepting the challenge thrown by Thompson (1981:43) who asserts that:

> ... if we are now to pursue the effort to adapt schooling in particular and education in general, to various African societies, success will largely depend upon the ability of African educationists and decision makers to analyze their own situations.

Methodology

The method employed in this study involves a review of stated ideas and thoughts in the area of the subject under investigation. Through library research techniques, books, periodicals and journals, government publications and some unpublished works which have a bearing on the topic, were perused. A justification for this method can be found in the last recommendation of a population and education seminar in Ghana which acknowledged the need to encourage reviews of educational and development literature on alternative strategies (in Africa and elsewhere) to cope with a developing demographic situation characterized by rapid population growth, or increase in the proportions of the population of school going age, changing distributional patterns and other related matters.[39] Basically, it involves assembling and analyzing facts as well as the technique of diagrammatic construction, in the form of schematic sketching of ideas, to elucidate the arguments and facts of the presentation. Thus, diagrams, flow charts, tables and the like are used in the thesis as a way of illustration.

The thesis has been organized into six chapters. This introduction is followed by an overview of the literature, with respect to theories of community education and community development in Chapter Two. Chapters Three and Four describe and analyze the present structure and organization of formal education in Ghana, pointing out the weaknesses in the system and their consequences for the village. The model itself is outlined in Chapter Five, and Chapter Six evaluates the applicability of the model.

Sources of Data

Procuring reading material was not easy since the subject is far removed from the area of popular literature that is available in Alberta. The main sources however were:

i) The University of Alberta Library System - much of the material on the theoretical aspects and even statistical data were obtained from this system. Notable among these are Government Publications (statistical and documentary material), Humanities and Periodical departments of Rutherford (books and learned journals) and Herbert T. Coutts Education Library (books and journal articles). The services of the Inter-Library Loan Department were solicited to obtain a basic text entitled Education and Community in Africa, edited by Kenneth King.

ii) Unpublished Sources - some unpublished materials like theses, conference papers and even ideas arising out of informal discussions were another source of information.

iii) Experiential or Contact Sources - as a product of the village schooling system in Ghana, the researcher is acquainted with information otherwise unobtainable from any of the above sources. Not only was he brought up in the system but has worked in it and with it. In addition, he has had the opportunity of debating the issues and situations with colleagues, all of which have provided extra information for the composition of the thesis.

Definition of Terms

Unless specifically redefined to serve a restricted purpose, the following key concepts are assigned the following meanings:

1. Community - an aggregate of people, not necessarily homogenous but living within defined geographical boundaries. It may be a small settlement like a village or part of a larger settlement like a town or a city ward, quarters or neighbourhood.
2. Education - all learning activities and experiences, whether in school or out of school. Where learning is restricted to schoolhouse activities, the term schooling is preferred.
3. Community education - school-centred education that encourages the use of school resources by the rest of the people while the school, in turn, utilizes the community's resources.
4. Community development - co-operative and concerted effort among members of a community to engage communally in the provision of amenities for their environment for their common good.
5. Village - a settlement with an upper limit population of 5,000 persons. The main economic activity is agriculture or unskilled or semi-skilled labour oriented occupations; a large majority of the population are illiterate; attitudes, values and

behaviour are traditional; the technology is simple; social relations are mainly consanguinous; and the mode of communication is chiefly interpersonal.

References

1. The World Bank. *World Development Report 1982*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983, has been the source of the economic indicators stated here. Most are 1981 figures. See pages 148, 150, 152, 154, 178, 184, 186, 188, 192, 194, 196 and 198.

2. See p. 196 of The World Bank. *World Development Report 1982*. Ibid. These are 1980 figures.

3. The United Nations definition of a village population sets an upper limit of 5,000 persons. The Ghana census of 1970 from which these figures were derived used this U.N. definition.

4. The description of V. L. Griffiths. *The Problems of Rural Education*. Paris: Unesco, 1968 p. 14 depicts the most vivid picture of village primary school as it might be found in the villages.

5. Symbols of political authority - the equivalent to the throne - on which the Chief sits at public assemblies. *Stools* are wooden-carved and used in the South while *Skins* are dried skins of fearsome animals such as tigers, leopards or lions and are used in the North.

6. *Kente* is a toga-like dress in the South and *Smock* is a loose shirt worn in the North. The highest quality of these dresses are the most expensive and most prestigious in the respective areas; they are the most valuable clothing items.

7. Penelope Roberts means items like free food and drink which the farmer may produce on his own without buying and which gives him a higher purchasing power for his cash earnings when she refers to the social value of income in her "The Village School Teacher in Ghana" in Jack Goody (ed.). *Changing Social Structure in Ghana: Essays in Comparative Sociology of a New State and an Old Tradition*. London: International African Institute, 1975, p. 246.

8. At a recent public forum a participant was said to have described the Government as a father and "if you don't feed us we will be crying after you." See report by Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill. "Ghana: Discussions on the Budget." *West Africa* No. 3466, 23 January, 1984, p. 151. The Akan word for Government *Aban* dates back to the colonial days and usually symbolizes excessive power, apathy, alienation and nonchalance. For example, public servants are known to refer to *Aban adwuma* (Government work) which belongs to no one and

thus must be approached apathetically.

9. A villager's lamentation during the recent general elections in Nigeria as observed by Niyi Osundare. "Nigeria Once Upon a General Election." West Africa, No. 3457, 14 November 1983 p. 2613. Such sentiments are shared by villagers all over Africa.

10. The title of a Ministry of Education document released in 1982 on education reforms which, though not implemented, continues to generate debate and attract interest. See report by Newton Amedofu. "New Frontier of Hope." West Africa, No. 3403, 25 October, 1982, pp. 2765-2766.

11. Philip Foster. Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 300.

12. The schools were so called because they were held in the European built and owned Forts and Castles along the coast.

13. An observation made by many observers including Keith Buchanan. Reflections on Education in the Third World. Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1975, p. 37.

14. As noted by David Zarembka, "The School as an Agent of Rural Development." Rural Africana, 9, Fall 1969, p. 38. The space created is both physical and social.

15. An argument advanced by Ankie M. M. Hoogvelt. The Sociology of Developing Societies. London: Macmillan, 1976 p. 67 from the perspective of the dependency theory.

16. "Black Skins, White Masks," an expression used by Frantz Fanon to depict Africans whose behaviour (acquired from colonial education) made them all white but for their skins, is the title of one of his books.

17. These were landmarks in the three major political developments during the period viz: self-government, independence and republican statutes respectively. The Accelerated Development Plan in Education of 1951 is generally regarded as a watershed in education.

18. Shortly after being sworn into office, the Government commissioned Professor W. Arthur Lewis of the University of Manchester to report on the problem of the development of secondary industries in the country. His report Report on Industrialization and The Gold Coast, prepared from the modernization perspective, served as the blueprint for economic and social development up to 1961 when it gave way to a socialist

programme. It was published in 1953 in Accra by the Government Printing Department.

19. Its essential features are discussed by Roger Genoud. Nationalism and Economic Development in Ghana. New York: Praeger, 1969.

20. Figures from Betty Stein George. Education in Ghana. Washington: Office of Education, 1976, p. 202.

21. He led the Government from 1951 to 1966 - as Prime Minister from 1951 to 1959 and President from 1960-66. Table from Kwame Nkrumah. Dark Days in Ghana. New York: International Publishers, 1968, p. 77.

22. Betty Stein George: ibid. pp. 207 and 210.

23. The University College of (the Gold Coast) Ghana, founded by the colonial government in 1948, was affiliated with the University of London which awarded its degrees. It was a replica of its parent university and offered liberal arts - classics and humanities - with graduates earmarked for white-collar jobs in the civil service and other areas in the modern urban sector of the socio-economic system.

24. Ghana was in many respects regarded by the British as its model colony and when the concept of community development evolved in the 1950's, its first experimentation outside Britain was in Ghana, according to R. Armstrong et al. Case Studies in Overseas Community Development Volume I. Bournemouth: Direct Design Ltd., 1975 p. 20.

25. Roger Genoud: ibid. p. 78.

26. See the account by S. O. Bortei Doku "Innovations in Elementary School Science Teaching and Teacher Training in Ghana" in J. A. Ponsioen. Educational Innovations in Africa: Policies and Administration. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1972, pp. 226-231.

27. Ghana. Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development: Financial Years 1963/64-1969/70. Accra: Office of the Planning Commission, 1964, p. 151.

28. Betty Stein George: op. cit. p.111.

29. There were signs that more children with rural background were gaining access to higher educational facilities - universities - through secondary schools or the fee-free teacher training colleges. But it all still meant preparing them for the urban sector since the educational policies did not effectively link school work with rural activities.

30. As pointed out by Idrian N. Resnick. "Prescriptions for Socialist Rural Education in Tanzania." Rural Africana, 9, Fall 1969, pp. 13-22, in the case of Tanzania, formal education as a foreign phenomenon was contradictory to the country's socialist policies and could not have engendered the desired liberation and industrialization targets., p. 17.

31. Figures from Betty Stein George: op. cit. p. 202.

32. This Oxbridge dominated committee was headed by an Oxford trained professor of classics and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana whose opposition to the mass-oriented policies of the Nkrumah Government was well known.

33. Quotation from the Committee's report by H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Poh. The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline. London: Longman, 1975, p. 117.

34. Another report commissioned by another military junta. Though it tackled the structural problems it never went far enough. Like its predecessor committees, it ignored the much needed education for mobilization needed in the villages and concentrated as usual on the schooling aspects of education, leaving out the illiterate, semi-literate and dropouts.

35. Ivan Illich. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

36. Rossana Rossanda et al. "Thesis on Education: A Marxist View " in J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.). Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 647-658.

37. "Dateline Africa - Ghana: Fight Against Corruption." West Africa No. 3401, October, 1982, p. 2677.

38. An observation by H. R. J. Davies. Tropical Africa: An Atlas for Rural Development. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973, p. xiv.

39. From the results of an interdisciplinary seminar at the University of Cape Coast as reported by W. Henderson. "Population and Education Seminar Series: Review Session and Final Report." The Oguaa Educator Vol. 6, No. 2, April, 1976, p. 15.

CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

This chapter examines various conceptual features of community education and community development and then attempts to establish a theoretical basis for the construction of a community education model that is most likely to engender community development in the typical Ghanaian village. To arrive at that, it explores these two dominant concepts historically and presents some case studies to elucidate the issues raised in their operationalization.

The relationship between the two omnibus terms education and development at the macro society level is briefly discussed in anticipation of a possible discernible relationship between one of the definitive concepts - community education - and the other, community development. For an elaborate analysis of the two concepts, their discussion is introduced with an examination of the three basic terms: community, education, and development.

Community

Despite the assertion by Bell and Newby that it is not possible to define community as a sociological term,[1] there have been many attempts to do so from various perspectives. Usually present in these definitions are such elements as space, people, bonds, interaction, commitment and loyalty. Ross (1967), for example, sees the community as a "common life" of some kind with a concomitant value with which one identifies oneself and shares in that common life of norms, beliefs, values and ways of life. He has a two-sided view of the concept, notwithstanding his construing it as a pattern of relatively simple relationships. In one sense it refers to the people in a specific geographical area and in another sense it represents groups of people who share common interests or functions, such as occupation, welfare, agriculture, education, religion or even a specific line of thinking (p. 41). Cox tends to agree with the spatial element of Ross' interpretation when he defines community as the territorial organization of people, goods, services and commitments,[2] but Minar and Greer tend rather to support Ross' second interpretation because they conceptualize the term as the primary dimension of human interaction.[3]

Some authors, however, in order to illustrate the scope, composition and dimensions of community, distinguish it from society. In this respect community is held to be a convenient way of reducing the complexities that characterize society at the macro level of social organization to a less complex micro-social organizational unit. From this perspective of micro-social processes, Bell and Newby characterize community as a microcosm - "a small, isolated, non-literate and homogenous group of people with a strong sense of group solidarity."[4] Similarly, the Tonnies Gemeinschaft (community) - Gelleschaft (society) dichotomy or continuum describes community by separating it from and contrasting it to society. Bell and Newby hold that the Gemeinschaft-Gelleschaft dichotomy revolves more around place than around the degree of involvement of the human being. Philip Toogood states categorically that "community occurs where a common predicament is shared."[5]

Varying definitions underlie different community typologies. There are the radial or dispersed communities where people, not necessarily living together as close neighbours, share strong ethnic, cultural or religious ties and choose to identify themselves as communities.[6] Shared languages, church affiliation or place of origin may provide a stronger feeling of community than residential proximity or contiguity. From another perspective Ross (1967:43) separates the functional community (the active minority within a larger group) from the geographic community in a welfare community typology. There are also occupational communities which are defined in terms of group consciousness and identical attributes. And Fletcher even refers to community as an ideology - "a necessary illusion."[7]

In this thesis, however, community is conceived similar to the definition given to it by members of the Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London.

For this group, community refers to a medium-sized rural village with a close-knit group of inhabitants, largely self-contained and with everybody knowing, and standing in accepted relationships to, everybody else. They define what they call the typical community in Africa as follows:

> ... a group of people living in the same place, with common values and history, bound together by multiple economic, social, religious and kinship ties, descended from people who also lived in that place.[8]

The idea of a community synonymous with village is shown by Hillery who, according to Bell and Newby, conferred the term community on the village.[9] They assume the village is a community although community could be found in other types of social systems. Sharing this view is Poplin, who lists the village as one of those units of social and territorial organization. The definition in this thesis, however, posits that community can be extended to include town and city neighbourhoods. In other words, it combines both territorial and extra-territorial qualities of a community.

Education

Very often, education is construed as schooling. This institutionally biased conception of the term is unacceptable to educationists like Ivan Illich (1971) who contends that what children learn at school is only a fraction of their total learning experiences. To make education synonymous with schooling precludes those vast learning activities and experiences that occur outside the school walls. That is why out-of-school learning is accounted for in a full meaning of education, in which case the school is seen only as one of the educational agencies. Churches, the family, peer groups and associations, the mass media, unions, libraries and both deliberate and accidental village assemblies are all agencies of education in their own right. While recognizing that the school gives a child the tools to acquire knowledge in books or knowledge communicated through the written word, Victor King[10] sees the school as only one stage in the continuity of lifelong learning. Dewey's[11] notion that education is a process of living and not a preparation for the future offers the basis for an all-embracing description of the term. He gives what he calls a technical definition of education as:

> that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience.[12]

Tied to a wider interpretation of the term is its linkage to the socialization process. Dewey, for example, sees education as "a way in which a social group brings up its immature members into its own social form."[13] But to discount the notion of terminal education (at the age of maturity), which is implicit in the Dewey statement, he adds that education consists of the acquisition of those habits that affect an adjustment of an individual in his environment.

Education as a cultural transmission process from generation to generation in all societies is generally acknowledged in education circles and is indeed embedded in delivery strategies like the Soviet idea of upbringing.[14] Nonetheless, the idea of education as pedagogy (the art, science or profession of teaching or the study that deals with principles and methods in formal education) still persists.

From the point of view of this thesis, Theodorson and Theodorson's definition of education as "a stimulus to creative thinking and action which accounts in part for culture change, culture change itself being a powerful stimulus for further innovation,"[15] is particularly important. And so is Monroe's interpretation of education as signifying the sum total of processes by which a community or social group, whether small or large, transmits its acquired power and aims with a view to securing its own continued existence and growth. This is because the question of the capacity and ability of education to influence (positive) change within a social group permeates discussions in many of the chapters of this thesis.

Meanwhile, education is to be viewed as the totality of learning activities and experiences of a defined group of people (here, the community), acting as a knowledge and culture transmission mechanism, and as a change-inducing force. Unless otherwise specified, therefore, it encompasses all aspects of education - formal, informal and nonformal. It must be noted that extramural education or indigenous education is still the only means of education available to substantial proportions of many African village populations, so that education without schools needs to be recognized as real.

Development

Though this omnibus term may be defined contextually from a social, economic or political perspective, usually it implies improvement, growth and change (Christenson and Robinson 1980:7). Development involves positive change in the organization of the lifestyle of people within a social unit. It may signify both visible achievements in incomes or technological feats, social facilities (schools, roads, hospitals, communication, etc.) and invisible ones like levels of political (bureaucratic) organization and the degree of (cultural) sophistication.

Development in human society is a many-sided process which begins at the individual level as an aspect of personal development and ends as an aggregate prosperity for the society as a whole.[16] Economists have the propensity to interpret development in terms of economic production on the per capita Gross National Product (GNP) scale or the annual rate of growth of a country's economy; and more recently, the physical quality of life index. In what Luis Ramiro

Beltrán considers a new conceptual model of national development, he thinks the term means:

> a directed and widely participatory process of deep and accelerated socio-political change geared towards producing substantial (upward) changes in the economy, the technology, the ecology and the overall culture of a country, so that the moral and material advancement of the majority of its population can be obtained within conditions of generalized equality, dignity, justice and liberty.[17]

But as Opubor has observed, no matter what development might mean in various contexts, in reference to Africa, any notion or definition of development must take into account fundamental change for the better in the lifestyle of the peasant, the fisherman, the petty trader, the herdsman or the labourer; otherwise it must be considered grossly inadequate.[18] Since the population of the communities that are being dealt with in this thesis is composed mainly of people in these occupational roles in the villages and whose education is predominantly indigenous, it is appropriate that this task for development in general be incorporated in its definition. Development is thus taken to be the planned or directed social change that leads to social transformation in the direction of the provision of "social goods such as education, health services, housing, participation in political decision making and other dimensions of people's life chances" (Christenson and Robinson 1980:7). In a sense then, development may be construed as the awareness of the people within the social unit, the community , of their aptitude and capacity for positive change by exploiting their environment to provide services and facilities that improve their living standards and satisfy their common needs and aspirations.

With the above explanations of the major terms community, education and development, one now proceeds to examine the concepts of community education and community development that have been built from these generic terms. The discussion will focus in particular on the conceptualization of community education.

Community Education

As a concept, the meaning of community education to people, groups and organizations is manifold. Its ambivalence seems to stem from the enthusiasm with which people, starved of the humanistic aspects of education, the absence of which characterizes formal education systems the world over, have embraced it as a method for injecting some dosage of life and humanism into "moribund" and abstract education systems. Keith Jackson (1980), for example, believes community education is used to challenge the strong institutional bias of education which has led critics to refer to the educational system as "schooling." For some of its proponents community education represents a "respectable version of radical[19] de-schooling" proposals (p. 39). And Fantini (1978:3) thinks it offers the best model for the effective conversion of a school system to an educational system to allow greater community input. Hillenbrand (1980:5) concurs with Fantini's view. For Hillenbrand, community education provides a mechanism for involving all citizens in activities that can enrich the entire family, be they in education, health, social services, recreation, arts and leisure. However, notwithstanding the perspective from which it is defined or conceptualized, community education, in its historical evolution as a concept, has involved the development of ideas and thoughts over the years; and its definitions often remind one of this mode of education's capabilities and potentialities - what it can do and what it is capable of achieving.

a) Development of the Concept

Minzey and LeTarte (1979) trace the origins of the notion of community education to Plato and other prominent educational thinkers. They note that John Dewey in particular attributed the failure of education to its neglect of the fundamental principle that the school is a form of community life. Dewey expressed the belief that the child should be stimulated and controlled in his work through the life of the community.[20] Minzey and LeTarte also refer to the American National Society for the Study of Education yearbook of 1911 which advocated access to school in the evenings by community residents, as well as to Joseph K. Hart's suggestion that community resources be utilized in the school to enhance the quality of school curriculum offerings. It is, however, the programme which began in the mid-1930's in Flint, Michigan that they consider to be the prototype of the contemporary community education movement occurring in the United States and other parts of the Western World.

In Africa in general and Ghana in particular, however, the notion of school-community interaction (or linking the school to the community) has not been consistently applied. As King (1976a:9) puts it, this theme:

> ... ran as a constant thread through most colonial assessments of African schooling, disappeared for a decade at Independence as the West (with American aid) helped to expand and build a superstructure on its colonial institutions, and then came back again just as soon as the West began to have misgivings about the decade of wholehearted educational assimilation.

Some writers even date community education in the African context to precolonial times. Wilson (1963:72) regards fertility rites and harvest festivals in those times as forms of community education. Indeed, within traditional or indigenous communities, educational activities were important to the socialization process.[21] Since it is from the notion of human socialization that the foundation of community education is generally derived (Fantini 1978:3), this kind of indigenous African education which was intertwined with community life could be construed as a version of community education.

Regarding colonial Africa, early documents on British colonial educational policy for Africa[22] also often stressed school-community relations; though as noted by Mgbemena

(1983:32), this was more in theory than in practice because the British colonial system of school administration did not favour much community involvement. From the accounts of writers in the 1950's[23] one learns that even before the term "mass education" emerged as an earlier version of the concept of community education, the document, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa had recommended in 1925 that:

> ... the education of the whole community should advance pari passu, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach of good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community.[24]

Then in 1935, the Memorandum on the Education of African Communities[25] emphasized the education of the community and the belief that education was one of a number of social institutions concerned with social, economic and political betterment. About the same time, in 1933, Reverend A. G. Fraser, the first Principal of Achimota College (the first government established secondary institution), is reported to have stated that students were to be kept in touch with their home life, and led to see that village life produced as many opportunities for the use of their intelligence as any other.[26] Mass Education in African Society,[27] the report of the adult and mass education sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies released in 1944, also alluded to community education while trying to identify a strategy for mass education and adult literacy. The main aim of the report had been to implement the suggestions made in 1935 by gaining from the very outset the full and active support of local communities and so develop initiative and drive at the grassroots level. In 1953, the report of a West Africa Study Group, included in African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa[28] advocated the revision of the training of education personnel to make them more responsive to community interests.

The absence of enthusiasm in executing community education schemes gradually eroded its prominence at the same time as the continued emphasis on literacy scholarship by the formal school system was creating more educational dysfunctions in rural communities. In these communities the schooling system was fostering cultural alienation and was, for the most part, irrelevant to socio-economic development. This contributed largely to the resurgence in Africa since the 1970's of the quest for community education - the education that will make learning more meaningful to life in the rural community.

Central to the general historical development of the concept has been a general expansion of its meaning. Fantini and others (1978) examine trends in the concept's development that have substantially changed the foci of the entire effort of community education, particularly, in the West. They note an initial shift from community education as "school-community relations" to "education-community relations" and thus dismiss any notion of the school as the only educational agency in the community. They also note Seay's (1974) observation that the purposes of community education are changing with increasing emphasis on its community development aspect. The third significant trend they mention is the view posited by Minzey and LeTarte (1972) that the conceptualization of community education has metamorphosed from various programmes or products to a process of community problem solving and other modes of community involvement.

These trends suggest that community education is increasingly being viewed as action oriented - a dynamic concept that is sufficiently broad and flexible to allow for various forms of operationalization. Writing on school-community relations in Africa, Wass (1976:329) considers an isolation-integration continuum along which school-community interaction may be scaled. He implies that in its development as a concept community education has been moving along this continuum, varying its meaning either to accommodate activities that previously were unknown to be or not accepted as falling within its purview or prescribing new activities that conform to its parameters as a concept.

Thus, community education has expanded from a simple idea of school and community interaction, expressed by the early educational thinkers through Bell and Newby's (1971:39) reference to the need for a student to deeply involve himself in the life of a particular community whose problems he should take over and make his own, to community education as a set of programmes. In the West, especially, the concept has emerged as an amalgamation of wide ranging ideas and a series of programmes accompanied by a vast array of concatenated activities. Minzey and LeTarte (1976:26-27) tersely put the whole of that together in the following definition:

> Community education is a philosophical concept which serves the entire community by providing for all of the educational needs of all its community members. It uses the local school to serve as the catalyst for bringing community resources to bear on community problems in an effort to develop a positive sense of community, improve community living and develop the community process toward the end of self-actualization.

It is useful for later discussion to point out that this definition, though widely acclaimed, rules out any possibility of community education without the school. It is equally important to note that the definition also rules out any possibility of using "community education" and "community school" interchangeably.

b) A Concept of Many Forms

Aside from being a concept, community education takes on various characteristics. Minzey and LeTarte's analysis of the subject, described by Taylor (1982:13) as "the blueprint of the mainstream community education movement in Western societies," identifies community education not only as a concept but also as a movement, a philosophy, a programme and a process. As a concept, it stands for "educating the entire community through a broad array of opportunities and co-operative interrelationships" (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:12). It has evolved over time from a set of ideas and thoughts; and an entire range of programme possibilities has been incorporated into it. Moreover, Minzey and LeTarte distinguish community education from the community school which they conceive as "a delivery system or a catalyst in the community education concept" (p. 14); and also from community development, a term which they believe cannot be substituted for community education. For these writers, community development, physical or human, is an integral part of the all-encompassing educational undertaking of community education.

A movement is usually the institutionalization of an idea and its spirit in a network of individuals and galvanized into organizations who and which strive to attain goals set by the idea. It is made up of people - thinkers and doers - and has a material resource base to supply the input into the machinery for propagation of the idea. In the case of the community education movement in the United States, the institutionalized network is The National Community School Education Association (NCSEA) which was established in 1966. Taylor (1982:2), though not referring directly to The National Community School Education Association, observes that the community education movement "is driven by what borders on religiously inspired conviction, through the forum of conferences, workshops and seminars." That way, an infrastructure is constructed to articulate and disseminate the ideals of the concept.

Community education is also a philosophy which establishes an emphasis and purpose quite distinct from the traditional or orthodox education structures now in existence (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:12). It is a new philosophy of education deeply rooted in the values of human potential (Fantini 1978:6). Philosophically, then, community education is a belief that all communities have many problems and that these problems can best be solved through education (Minzey and LeTarte 1972:130-14).

By far the most important element in the Minzey and LeTarte analysis is their conceptualization of community education as a union of programme and process. One segment of the concept comprises programme possibilities, a chain of activities that enrich school-community relations. These activities are designed to extend the school to the community and enable it to reach out to the out-of-school members of the community and also to draw the community into the school by placing the school's resources at the disposal of the non-school clientele within the community. They reject approaches that misconceive community education as the isolated pursuit of specific programmes and focused course offerings (or add-ons). Rather, they argue, programmes constitute a means by which community education, through the public school as a delivery system or catalyst and the manifest activities it undertakes, achieves its end.

Most important for this discussion, however, is the Minzey and LeTarte idea of community education as a process. The process dimension of the concept is crucial to this thesis because it offers the mechanism through which a scheme of causal relations between education and development at the village level can be proposed in relation to Ghana. Indeed, Taylor (1982:15) sees the Minzey and LeTarte notion of process as the distinct feature of their conceptualization of community education that distinguishes it from other approaches. The ultimate goal of community education is to develop a process by which members of a community learn to work together to identify problems and to seek out solutions to the problems so identified (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:15). Similarly, Ross (1967:40) defines process as the conscious or unconscious, voluntary or involuntary, movement from identification of a problem or objective to solution of the problem or attainment of the objective in the community.

Despite the greater emphasis placed on the process aspect of the concept in its problem solving capacity, it is how both programme and process interrelate that will determine the success of any community education scheme. Overt activities initiated by the school are necessary to stimulate community interest in utilizing school resources for its gains. But generally, a programme oriented stage needs to precede community process for community self-actualization, or the need to be self-sufficient, including the will and ability to commonly define and determine the community's own needs and work out strategies for meeting them in an atmosphere devoid of interference from extraneous pressures. Fantini (1969:97) notes that communities no longer accept the process of something being done for or to them even when the product is desirable. He would thus prefer to interpret community education as extraneously unfettered community efforts at endogenous knowledge generation, dissemination and utility. This view envisages elements like participation, mobilization, relevance, self-help, sharing and caring, self-reliance and others; elements that are particularly important in trying to establish community development as a component of the community education process.

i. Participation

Participation involves the community's active contribution in creating educational resources (like school buildings and ancillaries, equipment, recreational facilities, library, etc.) as well as its right to make input into decisions affecting the school's organization and administration. It must be able to influence the overall educational operations to the point that it exercises effective control over all educational assets, liabilities and programmes. Participation need not be synonymous with community control since the latter is more related to the legal aspects of education and somehow associated with decentralization. In fact, community control does not deal directly with community involvement, community process, or problems diverse enough to be classified as community education (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:19). But in a strongly centralized schooling system like that of Ghana, it is pertinent and indeed necessary that participation reflects the idea that control of education should reside in locally elected boards of education responsive to the needs of the community for a practicable community education process. This is because control over ideas of education like the curriculum, policy making and staff recruitment has direct bearing on school-community integration. As Carl Grant (1979:76) notes, participation without control can result in a few community representatives on the school board who would be mere observers to proceedings instead of exerting that influence which would make the community's will prevail and not be overpowered by a professional majority - or even a vocal professional minority. The level and degree of participation determines whether an educational system is a school system or a community education system, according to Fantini (1978:6) who advocates active parent, learner and identifiable community groups' involvement in the community education process. Simply put, participation is community involvement in all aspects and at all levels of the community education process.

ii. Mobilization

Mobilization is most effectively achieved through active participation by all elements in the community. It involves marshalling the resources, both human and material, of the community. When every sector of the community is allowed a role in the community process, a gradual will to participate in programmes and activities occurs which naturally fosters mobilization. It is the one means by which resources in the community are mobilized to meet the needs of the school as it reaches out to the rest of the community and taps resources available to it.

iii. Relevance

Relevance pertains to the matching of community needs with the education that is being offered. Both participation and mobilization are needed to establish congruency between the school's operations and the needs and aspirations of the community. Relating the design of basic schooling to the life and work of its wider community (Sinclair 1980:21) is important to the community education process. As Batten (1959) observed, attempts to use the school as a vehicle for community development are confronted with the limitations of what the teacher could do with one pair of hands, modest training and an often unreceptive "client" community. Community education envisages the breaking down of these barriers, making school programmes and activities responsive to the needs determined by the socio-economic and political characteristics of the community, thus developing a congruence between the goals of the school and the goals of the community.

iv. Sharing and Self-Help

The common attributes of a community outlined above include sharing and mutual interdependence. These are important features of the community education process. Sharing of facilities and resources are expected between the school and the community and in the community across age, social class and gender differences. Intra-community interdependence strengthens the capacity for self-help (independent efforts of a community to provide its own social amenities). A relationship between sharing and self-help are indispensable to the problem solving aspect of the process. Self-actualization, the ultimate goal of the community education process, is the end result of the problem solving quality of the process. And to reach this logical consequence there is the need to interweave these vital qualities of community education: sharing, self-help, and the problem solving element of the concept.

v. Self-Reliance

A community is self-reliant if it has the necessary tools to pull its members together in the spirit of self-help, inherent or induced, and to solve its problems. Community self-reliance, however, need not lead to xenophobia. Community education does not aspire to create enclave communities. Self-reliance must be interpreted to mean the community's ability to stand on its own within a national or global context. The local community assumes autonomy over matters confined to its immediate environs but self-actualizes concurrently with a recognition of the wider community of a nation. Though the school meets its social responsibilities through the community education process that engenders community development in a self-reliant effort, the process must incorporate extraneous elements (like national values, norms, goals, etc.) so as to foster a national balanced agglomerate of self-reliant communities.

vi. Problem Solving

Community education is a dynamic process of community involvement in decision making and problem solving (Minzey and LeTarte, 1979). The dynamism of the process translates into actions and their results. Planning and executing community problem solving through strategies designed to achieve specific goals, therefore, is the eventual manifestation of the process. As Minzey and LeTarte (1979) state, then, the ultimate value of the process (of community education) lies in its ability to bring about change and subsequently solve community problems. And it is from this perspective that the concept is conceived as a powerful remedy for the community's ills. Through programmes of compensation or positive discrimination (Fletcher 1980:8) a community education process may focus on a social problem like poverty, alienation, racism, inequality of educational opportunity, undemocratic practices, among others, depending upon the acuteness of the problem, and tailor its programmes towards its solution. Indeed, King (1976:ii) states categorically that, however loosely expressed, community education seems to offer some respite from what are major ills in many low income countries: inequity, unemployment, urbanism and spiralling costs.

c) The Freirian Notion of Praxis

Also of interest to the process of community education is the Freirian notion of praxis. Paulo Freire (1970:Ch.4) sees man as a being of the praxis or capable of reflection and action, qualities that enable him to think and act by himself for himself. For this reason, he considers it inappropriate for leaders to arrogate to themselves the power to think for the masses, thereby reducing the latter to suggestible doers. Community education, in its process, guards against the possibility that the school will assume a dominant role in its relationship with the community. Instead, the school is expected to acknowledge the community's capacity to reflect on itself, determine and prioritize its needs, and act to actualize them. The farthest the school may go in the process, will be to consider itself a partner in the community's progress and development; it is neither the sole purveyor of knowledge desired by the community nor the determinant of the community's needs. The community must be assumed to be capable of deciding on what, how and when it needs the school for its purposes. The school's contribution in the process is, in short, to avail its resources to the community.

Freirian praxis actually symbolizes the replacement of extension (external intervention) with conscientizacao (consciousness raising or conscientization) - that the idea of knowledge being "extended" from those who claim monopoly over it to those the former consider are without knowledge, must be substituted with dialogue or communication. Such an arrangement has the potential of leading to the awakening of consciousness to enable a group of people (in this case the community) to exercise their praxis; or simply the conscientization of the community (Freire 1973:93-135). Though this Freirian notion does not relate directly to the Minzey and LeTarte model which gives prominence to the school, it is important for consideration in designing a model of community education for villages which may not have any schools.

To recapitulate, community education is a two-part concept - it comprises programme and process. It has the capacity for problem solving that is inherent in the process which encompasses qualities like participation, sharing and mobilization with which it implements programmes. The concept represents the most effective way in which education (the school) meets its social responsibilities. Cultivating a self-reliant community capable of working its way to self-actualization is its methodology. In spite of its universal appeal, it is important that community education be examined in the context of the African community because of its unique social characteristics and attributes.

d) The African Perspective

Arguing from the premise that there should be a congruence between the level of development of a country and its educational provision, King (1976:7-16) makes a case for modifications in the general conceptualization of community education to fit the African context. He is of the opinion that the current terminology (of community education) as interpreted in the Third World is often deceptively close to its usage in the industrialized West, in spite of the fact that "debate in the West largely concerns the structures of post-compulsory education and particularly the 16 to 19 year groups" (p. 7) whereas in the developing world almost all education systems are at a pre-compulsory stage. While school-community integration focuses mainly on interactions between young adults and older adults in the West, much of the emphasis or concern for school-community links in Africa centres on developing relationships between children and adults, especially at the primary school level. This is due to the fact that the highest level of schooling accessible to the village people is the primary school. Also needing consideration is a situation in which many village communities have no schools at all.

Expensive school plants with extras for leisure and facilities for out-of-school members of the community are more affordable in the European and North American communities where school populations are no longer expanding because of falling birth rates. In Africa, community impact on schools results in less expensive plant facilities because schools may be overpopulated due to the rising number of school going children which results from high annual population growth rates (e.g., 3.0 per cent in Ghana).

Again, it is the complex problems of the urban environment which are the main target for community education in the industrialized world. But in Africa, it is the formidable problems of rural development, requiring agencies and service units or departments to co-ordinate their contacts with rural communities, that demand consideration of strategies like community education. There, a community's development does not lie simply in the promotion of communication among citizens. They already have enough close bonds established through interpersonal communication. What is important is the need to increase incomes and provide basic needs like food, shelter, clothing and health.

King (1976:iv) has identified two perspectives on school-community interaction in the African situation: the organizational perspective and the hierarchical perspective. Organizationally, he observes that the school centred approach to linking school and community sometimes enables the school to attempt to orchestrate all those community elements that seem relevant to its own larger purpose, while entirely ignoring the fact that school-community interaction is a two-way process. This is potentially destructive in the African village where the school's incongruities with the rest of the community are of such magnitude that its influeence could "elitize" the whole village, to the chagrin of the villagers, and thus cause a consequent defeat of the basic goals of process. What is needed in the African situation, then, is a view of school-community process of integration which proceeds from the community end of the process. For it is from that position that it can be appreciated that the school is only one component of a very complicated community learning system.

Hierarchically, there is no correspondence between an institution and its community. The formal learning pyramid (nursery to university) cannot be easily matched to the geographic community pyramid (village to city) in order to define which institution must serve or interact with which community. It may be easy to determine the community a village school should serve; it is much more difficult to prescribe the natural community for a university. Thus, which level of education should correspond to which type of settlement defies definition. Yet relating what goes on in formal educational institutions to the community is vital in community education.

Moreover, unlike the advanced countries where schools evolved and developed within familiar societal values, norms and attitudes, in African societies they evolved as exogenous institutions superimposed upon a traditional African cultural base. As a result, conflicts are likely to develop in school-community relations. Among the villages inclined toward tradition, the school as an "invention" has no status within the community's organizational structure (Roberts 1975:246) and its roles are perceived in terms of the village community's vertical relations with external forces. The school among these communities is regarded as alien - something belonging to somewhere else, rather than as an integral part of the community. Community education is, thus, expected not only to integrate the school into its community but also ought to establish an initial basis for integration.

From the dimensions of culture, acuteness of problems and recognition of the different interpretations that school-community integration is likely to be given, there seems to be the need for a degree of uniqueness in the conceptualization of community education in the African (and Ghanaian) context. Nonetheless, the urgency for drastic changes in the pattern of African education delivery (the extent of school and community input) only vindicates the principles and premises of community education. For, as

Peter Wass (1976:328) observes, international research and analysis out of which concepts like community education are formulated or endorsed give abundant evidence that educational problems in a country can and do find parallels, though never identical situations, in other parts of the world. An African version of community education is, thus both legitimate and proper, and theoretically sound.

e) Case Studies

Differences in the conceptualizations and operationalization of community education are collapsed into three main categories. They are: school-centred, community-based, and as two-way process. In the words of Bacchus (1982:1-4) these "three possible interpretations" of integration of school and community learning also coincide with three "different lines of action." And presented below are three models in community education - the Foxfire project, the Bristol experiment and the Kwamsisi village development project - as case studies that represent these major categories of the concept.

i. The Foxfire Experiential Education[29]

The Foxfire project is a demonstration of effective utilization of community resources by the school in the United States. It began as an attempt by a teacher to abandon textbooks in favour of lessons on publishing a magazine, because he was dissatisfied with the way his

students were responding to his English lessons. Within six years the modest rural magazine had matured into the Foxfire Book which sold over four million copies within seven years of its first publication. This feat had been achieved by "lower track" students: "students who were not seen as talented, who had simply been passed along or ignored throughout their schooling" (Parks 1981:280).
of its publication. Brooks Eliot Wigginton, the teacher, had nurtured a simple learning experiment into a substantial educational enterprise.

In the project's process, students are encouraged to live the life of the community by making school work applicable to everyday life in the community. Articles published dwelt on the ethnography, anthropology, folklore and oral history of the locality as well as the community's values. Foxfire programmes are a combination of theory and practice and besides the normal curriculum of general education, Foxfire students concentrate on the non-conventional magazine production activities. As part of its teaching methodology it relies on peer teaching.

Foxfire is a successful experiment in local community input into school programmes and activities which enables the school to draw on local resources (for example, it recruits local residents to teach local history, folklore and related subjects). It also teaches skills saleable within the community in fulfillment of the principles and precepts of educational relevance and promotes a profitable economic activity through the school's involvement in its community. One notes also, however, that for as long as it is a programme purposely designed for "disadvantaged" students, students who are deemed to be academic failures, it is ameliorative.

ii. The Lawrence Weston School, Bristol, England[30]

This project exemplifies the community utilization of school resources as an approach to enhancing the school-community relationship. The school's experiment to serve the adult members of its community by giving them access to the school library has expanded into extensive areas of some 24 different activities being organized on the school premises. These activities range from pop groups through wine making to judo.

Some of the achievements of the experiment include improvement in the interrelationships among different generations in the community such that the possibility of finding a pupil, his parents and grandparents brushing shoulders in common activities like singing in the choir, is a daily occurrence. Scholastic performance is said to have been affected with the number of children who stay on at school after age 15 increasing by 75 per cent. It is certainly community education geared towards meeting the social responsibilities of the school.

iii. The Kwamsisi Community School Enterprise[31]

The Kwamsisi model of basic education as a community enterprise is the community school approach to the Tanzanian doctrine of education for self-reliance. It conceptualizes community education in terms of decentralization, combining school and work, self-help and village self-reliance. It is a by-product of the socialist villagization policy of the national government.

Kwamsisi Community School is located in one of the many ujamaa (collectivized self-help) artificial villages established by the Government of Tanzania to promote a socialist mode of organization of the Tanzanian society by which local resources will be harnessed through self-reliance in national development. Emanating from the Government policy of education for self-reliance, it identifies ways of integrat ing school and village activities in the areas of production, participation, curriculum and teaching resources.

Production targets are set for a combined school and village effort and both work together on a common farm, poultry unit, a workshop and a carpentry and brick making factory to meet these targets. Local committees, like those for economic planning, education, culture and social welfare, transport and works, productive activities, marketing and defence and security, are the conduit pipes through which community input into the school is channelled. Further participation in school activities by parents is achieved through the teaching process by inviting knowledgeable parents to teach subjects like local history, crafts, political education and others. Pupils, on the other hand, participate in village campaigns.[32] They are organized to participate in celebrations, national festivals and exhibitions. Local elements are introduced in the curriculum "to develop in pupils the knowledge, skills and attitudes as well as values relevant to the community" (Muze 1980:34).

Clearly, a two-way school-community interaction is facilitated in the Kwamsisi model of community education. The process aims at community economic productivity while integrating the school into the work and behaviour patterns of the community. Resource sharing and interdependence are visible hallmarks of the relationship between the community and its school.

f) Explicit and Implicit Community Education

The three modular approaches to community education outlined above are by no means the only patterns in practice. Together, however, they represent overt interpretations of community education processes that are organized with community schools as the hub around which programmes and their execution revolve. Whether they belong to the Canadian Province of Alberta system in which community schools are designated, or in the British or

Tanzanian systems where community schools are built, they represent school-centred community education.

Minzey and LeTarte (1979:14-15) do, indeed, advocate this approach of selecting the public school as a delivery system or a catalyst for community education. Their reasoning is that, among other advantages, the school is conveniently located with easy public access and therefore an extraordinary point for community rendezvous. It is also the most acceptable tax supported agency. Community education, practised this way, is explicit with conspicuously identifiable community schools as separated from other agencies, organizations or institutions in the community. In fact, in education systems having a declared community education policy, community schools are in some aspects distinguishable from "regular" schools, which are not involved in community education.

However, there exists in other education systems less explicit versions of community education, particularly those pertaining to mass mobilization of school and community resources for integration of national productivity efforts and purpose; at the centre of such undertakings is the school and its relationship to the community. A classic example of implicit community education can be found in the Soviet Union in the political socialization scheme described by Zajda (1980:121). Articulated through a combination of vospitanie and obrazovanie (upbringing and schooling), the individual's classroom lessons are linked directly to the farm and family atmosphere to create a pragmatic world education. Pupils are required to participate in activities of the community; and contribute to work on the sovkhoz (state farm) or kolhoz (collective farm), depending upon whichever is nearer their community, as a means of integrating community life into the child's education.

Another example can be found within the Chinese education system. The Chinese commune is an implicit form of community education. As Manzoor Ahmed (1973:11) observes:

> The rural people's commune in China, consisting of 4,000 to 5,000 families, is an administrative and geographical unit for social and economic development as well as the unit for overall planning, mobilization of resources, and the distribution of the benefits of agricultural production.

Classroom education is given practical application on farms and other activity centres which organize to involve school children in happenings in the immediate community. Efforts at integrating school and community learning in this way focus on the integration of school and work (Bacchus 1982:10). Bacchus believes school-community learning has strong ideological undertones which makes production for the market a school activity. Thus a unity of education and work oriented educational programmes and instructional strategy are accompanied by political, economic and social arrangements which supply the structural foundations for successful implementation of plans (p. 10-12). Thus, it may be argued that whether community education is explicit or implicit depends on the mode of its institutionalization within a particular system of education.

The mode of institutionalization raises, also, the question of the ideological dimensions of community education as a concept. It seems that explicit community education is more identifiable with liberal-capitalistic political systems while implicit community education identifies more with radical-socialist political systems. The explicit mode appears, then, to be an appendage of mainstream thought - designed to complement efforts of elitist dominated education in the former by compensating the disadvantaged in society. In the West, community education, by instituting discriminatory programme content and curriculum like the case of Foxfire, appears to reinforce the inequalities in capitalist societies. The implicit community education of the socialist countries, on the other hand, appears to be more holistic - the national educational system per se. Moreover, it is intentionally designed to further socialist political and economic objectives.

There are writers who hold the strong conviction that community education is not apolitical. John Warden (1980:5-10) advances a ten-point argument that community education is a political act. Its political nature, he contends, lies in the fact that it facilitates various social democratic processes (through participation); that it works toward the realization of a "sense of community" at various levels within society; that it links people with needs and concerns to decision makers; and that it applies synergistic power principles to action. In addition, it encourages interagency co-operation and collaboration; it utilizes programmes as a means to deeper participation and involvement; and it recognizes and utilizes the role of the community educator. Lastly, it focuses attention on the need for change and variety of change processes. Each of these is a clear-cut political act.

As an action oriented concept that involves and affects people of different statuses and with diverse roles, it is wont to generate politics. Killian (1978:28) is of the opinion that "little of importance will be accomplished in a community without the approval or backing of the 'power people'." No matter how egalitarian a community might be, it will still have its opinion leaders, decision leaders and decision makers. That is why he stresses the need for the community educator to identify the power structures within his community without whose concurrence programmes are bound to fail. Decision makers and decision leaders are key instruments in programme implementation. Community education must, therefore, be recognized as possessing political or ideological properties that must determine its objectives, programmes, and especially, the process, if it is to find success in any community.

g) Premises

Explicit or implicit community education is always founded on certain basic premises. By deliberate or accidental connotations it assumes that incongruencies exist between the status of the school and the community's needs, goals and aspirations. Community education seeks to correct these imbalances by establishing links between the school's objectives and the community's problem solving activities. Whether its tenets are implicit or explicit in a national education system, certain basic premises are discernible. In all cases, it espouses that schooling (education), based on a large measure on what can be seen as relevant and meaningful, is essentially better and more productive than that which deals with what is strange and inapplicable (Houghton and Traeger 1969:17). The other premise is that, in order to be carried out most effectively, the primary unit for effectiveness of community education is the "gemeinschaft" or neighbourhood unit (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:140).

Another premise is that the school is isolated from the real world of the community and that special efforts are necessary to integrate it into other community institutions. Community education also reflects the basic premise that local resources can be harnessed to solve most community problems and that the public school must be central to any such effort.

The idea of an existing school as a pre-requisite for the inception of community education is prominent in these premises. This may not need to be so (as would be explained later) in the Ghanaian situation. Put together, however, they largely crystallize into the concept of community education. But in its practice, the emphasis given to these premises varies considerably from one context to another and this is what accounts for various models of community education.

h) Social Preconditions

Certain conditions (of community) must prevail to establish the social climate within which community education, particularly in its explicit form, can be practised. For premises and principles of community education to be applicable to a social unit, it must be of "gemeinschaft" status in which social bonds are based on close personal ties of friendship and kinship. In a larger "gelleschaft" social unit, there would still be need to identify communities within the urban society to develop the social conditions favourable for the implementation of community education programmes.

The community must exhibit some degree of mechanical solidarity which entails sacrificing resources for a common goal. According to Galjart (1976:105) this is required in the initial period of community organization, though it eventually leads to organic solidarity, which is the sacrifice of gratifications in order to preserve the unity of the group. The community is a web of relationships involving people within a defined geographical area sharing a common economic status, religion, language or even common levels of ability (King 1976:99). It depends upon closeness and personal interaction based upon its members' natural interdependence. This makes it the ideal social organization for community education. The Ghanaian village, which exibits these features, is, thus, considered a community for the purposes of this thesis.

So far, the discussion has established community education as a combination of programme and process. It has also been noted that a community school serves as a delivery system or vehicle for fostering the programme-process dimensions of community education. Programme implementation requires community involvement which can be maximized through a national decentralization policy which gives villagers control over their own development activities. Community members' co-operation, coupled with school and community resource sharing engenders self-help for self-reliance - a process that leads to community development.

i) Criticism

Notwithstanding its capacity to foster development within the community, community education has come under criticism in all its forms. Much of it is, however, directed at the school centred approach to its conceptualization. King's allusion to the "dangers" of the school being allowed without restraint to influence the community in the African village was mentioned earlier. Also, from the perspective of deschooling advocates like Ivan Illich (1972:42) the possible school orchestration of community elements could be of great negative consequences to the community.

Moreover, it can be argued that interpreting the need to make education more community conscious in a situation where the school dominates the rest of the community can be in conflict with, and indeed jeopardize, the search for a more coherent, all-encompassing community learning framework in which all elements (formal, nonformal, informal) and all the knowledge (educational, agricultural, and social) constitute integral parts (King 1976:iv). Fantini (1978:2) is conscious of the propensity for misconstruing community schooling as community education, the latter being of greater depth and encompassing all learning activity within the community. Though Minzey and LeTarte make a strong argument in favour of using the school as a launch pad and centre of activity, by designating the school as the primary instrument for the practice of community education, other forms of community learning that are present in communities without schools are ignored. Indeed, the school is only one of the educational agencies in a community; of equal importance is a diverse group of other agencies such as libraries, neighbourhood renewal groups, unions and self-help groups (Fantini 1978:2-7). The school must not be allowed to usurp the educational functions of these agencies and others like the mass media by being singled out for undue emphasis. To do so would mean that predominantly illiterate villages in Africa which have no schools cannot benefit from community education approached from the school-centred perspective.

The community education movement is in a sense an admission that the school has failed to meet its role expectations within the community (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:31). Defined functions, goals and parameters of education as the institution expected to produce the "whole" person through the totality of all educational agencies within the community does not differ from the principles enunciated by community education. It has already been stated that the concept evolved in the midst of maintaining perceived inadequacies of national schooling systems and their application to local communities. It is obvious that nations have, perhaps unknowingly, mistaken schooling for education. An elaborate conceptualization of the term education, as indicated above, would include whatever community education entails. Suffice it to say, then, that the emergence or resurgence of community education as a movement is an admission to the charge that the school has failed and in doing so implicitly supports the case for the dissolution of schools because they are anti-community. To Fantini (1978:3) the concept of community education offers the best model for the effective conversion of a school system to an educational system.

Usually, community education is operationalized as a supplementary programme, an "add-on" to other educational efforts within the community in an attempt to achieve "full education" for community members. Minzey and LeTarte (1979:8) admit that community education consists of auxiliary or extended learning opportunities that supplement the youth's schooling. It emerges from the three case studies outlined earlier that the emphasis on the gain for school children from school-centred education limits the chances for benefits of adults. Community-based education, however, tailors its curriculum to fit the educational needs of other groups in the community who are otherwise denied access to publicly supported educational programmes (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:27). Moreover, when this situation is considered together with the fact that community education tackles "minor" problems of the community, the concept (its programmes and processes) become peripheral, palliative and meliorative (Taylor 1982) - since it mainly offers remedial programmes.

The tendency to significantly limit community activities to the school building and grounds (Fantini 1978) augments the school's influence on the rest of the community and creates an uneven balance between the two supposed partners - the school and the community. It may be argued that community education is unlikely to satisfy the needs of the illiterate, semi-literate, or neo-literate adult members within a predominantly illiterate community. And to the extent that it discriminates in purpose and targets (very often it is designed for rural communities or the urban poor),[33] it is tokenistic and constitutes a social engineering device with which a nation's traditional knowledge controlling elite further perpetuate educational inequalities (Batten 1980: 27-28).

There are critics who also believe that the concept has the potential for developing pluralism within society. Community control and autonomy can lead to the evolution of tiny islands of authority, policy and even ideology of microcosms within the national macrocosm. Galjart (1976:105) warns about the possible impairment of a broader societal solidarity by smaller bands of mechanical solidarity of sub-groups in a larger group. Inordinate ambitions of communities, coupled with laxity in ensuring national input into community education content, could foster national disharmony rather than the social cohesion and coherence that it seeks. Conversely, the survival of the idea of an autonomous community, free to determine its education, can easily be eroded by state bureaucractic apparatuses which are often elitist and therefore unlikely to tolerate any designs that threaten to weaken their power of control over education.

Others are wary of the domineering role of the "experts" (the community educators) - the purveyors of the concept who operate the process and programme implementation; that is, the directors, co-ordinators and the like. Their roles are unlikely to differ from other Government agents like extension officers, teachers and so on whom Obeng (1976:64) perceives as the bastion of state paternalism. Villagers' perception of these officials is anything but positive because the latter hold a general contempt for the former, with the accompanying myth that they are incapable of developing on their own. The contempt is fed by the other myth that the ruralite is culturally backward, technologically inferior, economically irrational or ignorant, possessed by pathological conservatism, organizationally incompetent and of low achievement and motivation - a perception which, according to Obeng, is untenable. This instantly brands rural communities as conservative and change resistant.

Paulo Freire's analysis of "extensionism" confirms that this myopic stance on the part of Government agents prevents them from soliciting the co-operation of rural communities whom they perceive negatively (as explained above), and that the approach renders them ineffective. Their attitude is anti-community education and makes a mockery of the concept as another device for rural mobilization. Furthermore, it reinforces criticisms of Government-initiated community education because the interventionist posture assumed by the executors is likely to make it suffer the dismal fate of its precursor strategies like mass education, rural development and so on.

Finally, to the extent that community education separates educational resources within a community into two institutional entities - school resources and community resources - it can be divisive rather than integrative. Although its principal goal is to integrate these resources through sharing in a utilization process which would serve as a lever for community development, perhaps more by accident than design, it can set the two in competition in a scramble for influence and control of learning activities and processes - the school with its limited but powerful resources including its position as an instrument of state with state support versus the community with immense resources and education potential but limited powers.[34] Only a careful and skillful articulation of the two can prevent competition and antagonism between school and community. The absence of such articulation renders community education unable to correct a narrow, segregating and inflexible traditional school system, seriously handicapped and incapable of inducing change leading to community development.

Community Development

Earlier, community development was identified as the embodiment of the process dimension of community education. A brief look at its attributes is necessary in order to discuss its broader consequence as a product or an ensuing set of conditions generated by community education.

As an independent concept, community development is considered a process in itself. A widely quoted United Nations definition bears this out. According to its definition, community development refers to:

> ... the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is, therefore, made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective. It is expressed in programmes designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements.[35]

Sanders (1965) identified four forms of the concept: as a process moving from one condition or state to another; as a method or a means to an end or a way of working so that some goal is attained or a combination of process and objective; a programme made up of method and content; and lastly as a movement with a combination of programme and emotional dynamics. Ross (1967:7) claims the phrase is used in developing countries to designate "efforts to provide for the advancement of communities." Speight,[36] however, attributes to it an interventionist character by emphasizing priority setting in development targets by external (Government) change agents and by viewing its ultimate goal as the integration of the community with national life. In contrast, Christenson and Robinson (1980:12) emphasize the endogenous element in their definition:

> A group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process (i.e., planned intervention) to change their economic, social, cultural or environmental situation.

Poplin (1972:238), on the other hand, tends to support an externally propelled notion of community development. He proposes that community members need to be "taught" to carry out their own programmes of planned change. Armstrong and others (1975:20-21) categorize this kind of approach to community development as a "target-centred" or bureaucratically controlled programme. Community development from that perspective is designed just to achieve objectives or targets that are necessary to change attitudes and make development of new skills occur without appreciating the ability of the community to initiate its own development.

Armstrong and his colleagues, however, propose another approach which they label as "man-centred" community development, an approach considered by them as their preferred alternative to the target-centred approach. In the man-centred approach, community development is essentially an educational process. This is in agreement with the preceding argument that community development is an integral part of community education. It thus becomes a development process within the education process.

Community development will, therefore, be interpreted here as an intimate relationship between community change and community problems inspired through community education. It is achieved not necessarily through Government intervention but through an ability rooted in the village community.

Community Education for Community Development

Regarding the position of the school as a potential change force that can influence village community development, Keith Watson (1983) makes a case for the village school teacher as an animateur, capable of operating as a change agent in addition to his assigned duties in the school. But the very perception of the teacher, by villagers as aban nipa,[37] or as a Government agent, seriously hampers his ability to play the role of an animateur. Moreover, Penelope Roberts (1975, 1982) observes that the teacher's relations with the community are in many cases strained and the education which the village school teacher can supply is systematically being devalued because of the exponential increase in schools which has resulted in even the smallest village having young men and young women who have completed their elementary education. She then notes a corresponding devaluation of the teacher's social status. These developments do compromise (constitute a constraint on) the teacher's claim to leadership in village community mobilization for development.

In spite of these trends that undermine the teacher's position as a community developer and the perceived shortcomings of community education by its critics examined above, its protagonists are confident that it possesses the ability to induce community mobilization for change in the direction of increased community assets, improved welfare, and maximized common and individual potential to increase production. The school premises provide a setting for farmers' forums where common problems could be discussed and solutions found. It could be used for literacy classes in the evenings. As demonstrated by the Foxfire experiential project, the Lawrence Weston community school project and the Kwamsisi School enterprise, in different ways, the school's resources could be utilized for community benefits that range from economic gains to personal educational advancement. Making the school curriculum and activities respond to community needs also creates opportunities for further maximization of the use of local resources. Kwamsisi depicts how the establishment of this relevance of school programmes to community circumstances positively affected the rest of the community in the areas of health improvement and political consciousness, as well as food production.

Watson (1982, 1983), in his arguments for a role for the teacher in village education and development, states that the teacher's training should not be restricted to the acquisition of methodological skills for the imparting of literacy and cognitive skills alone to village school pupils but rather that this training must be extended to cover hygiene, rural health, agriculture, practical arts, handicrafts, community development skills, adult basic literacy, as well as methods of teaching people of different ability levels and ages. He argues that these will equip the teacher with the necessary tools that would bring his influence to bear directly on village community development.

Again, Dove (1980), Watson (1982) and Thompson (1983) agree that there is a role for the village community school in rural transformation in developing countries like Ghana. They believe that the village school can be a rallying point for community mobilization and participation in change efforts that would lead to the improvement of the social, economic and environmental conditions of the village. Thompson (1983:11) asserts that fostering and nurturing the desire to participate (the first step to encouraging self-development) is an educational process for which the abstract, youth oriented processes of formal education (as represented in the village school) are likely to be the most appropriate. The village school is considered as an invaluable infrastructural base for the hosting and launching of extra school and extra farm activities on which the entire community - irrespective of age, sex, religion or political affiliation - can converge for a neutralistic approach to the solutions of community problems. All are likely to patronize these activities. Even the most powerful groups in the community are likely to support a role for the community school which is functional for their own children (Dove 1980:77). One may assume then that the school's clientele and the community at large are ready to co-operate with schools which advance goals that are congruent with those of the community. An example provided by Watson (1982:25) is that a school programme aimed at solving the problem of rural unemployment through activities that generate rural self-employment is likely to enjoy the community's patronage.

Dove (1980:77) cautions, however, that commitment of Government and international agencies to the idea of community participation in school for the purpose of village improvement will not necessarily guarantee village community development. For schemes that are directly initiated from outside the community are unlikely to serve the interests of the whole community for which they are intended unless there is a genuine mutuality of interest amongst members of the community. Indeed, she believes that community schools generally tend to reflect the interest of the local elite while neglecting those of the common people; and that schools that threaten existing economic and social power relations of a community are unlikely to prosper. But, then, to counter this, she suggests that a consensus of community group interests congruent with intended goals of schemes is possible through pre-project evaluation research to discover common objectives and interests.

One area in which community education could engender village community development would be by engaging the otherwise "idle" school children in productive activities. By merging school and work, children will be doing three things. They will be learning to appreciate menial jobs, the kinds that are available in the village. At the same time, they will be training for the only jobs into which they can be immediately absorbed after graduation. Also, they will be contributing directly to the economic output of the village by working on the farms and in other areas of economic activity. This way the community also realizes its larger objective of socializing its members for continuity and progress through education.

School-community interaction may lead to community change. There is a large presence of conservatism among the tradition-inclined village community. It has always been evident, however, that whenever villagers, through awareness and consciousness awakening, perceive an innovation as conducive to realizing their common goals, they are willing to undergo the required transformation through community action to effect change.[38] There is room, therefore, for the enlightened and well-prepared teacher to act as a change agent in the community. A well-informed school staff, by sharing information with the rest of the community outside the school, is likely to increase awareness among community members that could motivate and activate the community into action for the desired change. The school has the capability to share its literacy skills with the illiterates within the community instead of encouraging few people to monopolize whichever level of literacy they might possess. That way, beneficiaries would be broadening their sources of information; for example, they would be able to patronize a village newspaper[39] (in the event that one exists) so that they widen their scope of access to news and information which will increase their awareness.

The problem solving quality of the community education process means hope for the millions who inhabit villages in the developing world, especially in Ghana. Myriads of problems plague these communities as well as their schools and there exists a dire need for solutions to these problems. Poverty, ignorance, disease, hunger, malnutrition unemployment, illiteracy and cultural alienation are but a few ailments; though they are amongst the most acute. Solutions to those problems call for a total mobilization of the community's human and institutional resources - particularly in the area of education. Poverty must be attacked by raising awareness of environmental potential and the need and methods for its exploitation. Ignorance can be overcome through exposure to knowledge and information. Alienation can be alleviated by insisting on relevance of school activities and curriculum content. Unemployment can be drastically reduced through the unity of school and work that will inculcate into children the will to work in the village after school. These areas are all real targets for school and community integration, or a well-formulated community education strategy designed to deal with the community's problems.

Whatever circumstances might prevail, in the final analysis, community education can only be considered in terms of the social, political, economic and cultural structures of the nation and the community for which it is intended. In this regard, Dove (1980), Warden (1980) and Killian (1978) are unanimous in their observation that a community's acceptance of the concept and its successful implementation of its process is contingent upon whether the decision-makers and decision-leaders (the power brokers) within the community accept or reject it. Patrick van Rensburg[40] illustrates how the Serowe Brigade programmes, which border on community education, are in jeopardy because of the inferior status accorded the idea by the dominant elitist group that controls the state education apparatus.

Considering all obstacles, structural, organizational or fortuitous, community education still remains attractive to village community development. It is still possible for a thoroughly planned process, supported by facts elicited from intensive investigation of village human and material resources, structures and organization, to facilitate village education likely to result in improved water supply, balanced diet, more efficient agricultural production techniques and better health facilities. It is of prime importance too that any such model of community education conceived for the Ghanaian village defines the concept from the perspective of education-community relations; and it must emphasize community development.

Summary

This chapter set out in search of a theoretical basis for an alternative to current schoolhouse oriented theories of education that, as will be discovered in the next two chapters, appear not to be contributing to village community development in Ghana and other parts of Africa. It notes that a kind of awareness-thought-action-change-improvement chain suggests that community development is a potential outcome of community education since education stimulates thought by creating awareness, a phenomenon that motivates action that is likely to lead to change for the better in the environment of villagers. Also put forward in this chapter is the proposition that integration between educational agencies and their community, in a sort of improved horizontal relations among the community's institutions (initiative) is more profitable to the community than its vertical and hierarchical relations with the extraneous establishment (intervention).

The discussions and arguments wind up on the assumption that, given the necessary institutional and structural support, community education, as an action concept, is capable of inducing social change within Ghanaian village communities; change that is motivated by well-articulated interaction between educational processes and institutions (like the school) and the rest of the community. Criticisms offered forewarn of the need for preventive mechanisms that must be embodied in the formulation of any models that aspire to succeed.

So far, community education has been identified as a combination of programme and process and that community development is an inseparable aspect of the process. It is designed for small social groups (communities) with high incidence of homogeneity in culture, bonds, attitudes, occupation or aspirations; and these are to be borne in mind in future conceptualizations. It is problem solving in its process.

On that note, the focus of the thesis now shifts to an examination and analysis of the current Ghana national education system in an effort to justify the need, if any, for community education as an alternative to the system as it affects village communities. The immediate task in the next chapter is to describe the system and how it works in the village.

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1. Bell and Newby attribute this to confusion between what *is* (empirical description) and what the sociologist feels it *should be* (normative prescription). Colin Bell and Howard Newby. *Community Studies: An Introduction to the Local Community*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971, p. 31.

2. This interpretation does not recognize the extraterritorial dimensions that community can assume. Fred M. Cox et al (eds.). *Strategies of Community Organization: A Book of Readings*. Itasca: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1970, p. 101.

3. David W. Minar and Scott Greer (eds.). *The Concept of Community: Readings with Interpretations*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969, p. 331. Also recognize that in spite of the term's ecological meaning of physical concentration of individuals in a place, it is both empirically descriptive of a social structure and normatively toned (p. ix).

4. Bell and Newby: ibid. p. 43.

5. Philip Toogood, "Tomorrow's Community Education Institution" in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson (eds.) *Issues in Community Education*. Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1980, p. 155-164.

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7. Colin Fletcher. "The Forseeable Future" in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson (eds.). *Issues in Community Education*. Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1980, p. 179.

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11. F. W. Garforth. *John Dewey Selected Educational Writings*. London: Heinemann, 1966, p. 48.

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13. John Dewey: ibid. p. 12.

14. Soviet education centres around the expressions *vospitanie* (upbringing) and *obrazovanie* (education) according to Joseph Zadja. *Education in the U.S.S.R.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980, p. 81.

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16. Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press, 1972, notes that at the level of the individual, development implies increased skill and material well being and that the achievement of any of those aspects of personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole, p. 3.

17. Luis R. Beltran, "Rural Development and Social Communication: Relationships and Strategies" in *Communication Strategies for Rural Development*. Cornell University, 1974, pp. 11-27.

18. Alfred Opubor, "Mass Communication and Modern Development in Nigeria." *The Nigeria Trade Journal* Vol. 25 no. 6 November/December 1978, pp. 34-43.

19. The question of whether it is radical or not is one subject of Gerald D. Taylor's unpublished paper *The Radical and the Reactionary: Contradictions in Community Education* presented at the World Council for Curriculum and Instructions Fourth Triennial World Conference on Education at Edmonton, Canada, August 1, 1983 and an earlier unpublished paper *Community Education: Radical or Conservative Reform?* presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Foundations of Education in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada on June 9, 1982.

20. See F. W. Garforth: ibid. pp. 49 and 50.

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22. The list includes:

(i) Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.
Cmd. 2374, H.M.S.O., 1925.

(ii) Memorandum on the Education of African Communities.
Co. No. 103, H.M.S.O., 1935.

(iii) Mass Education in African Society.
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24. Quoted from Colonial Office. Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. Cme. 2374. London: H.M.S.O., 1925 by L. J. Lewis, "Theory and Practice of Mass Education and Community Development" in L. J. Lewis (ed.). Perspectives in Mass Education and Community Development. London: Thomas Nelsen, 1955, p. 1.

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26. Report by West Africa, No. 3437, 27 June 1983, p. 1514.

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28. Crown Agents. African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. London: H.M.S.O., 1953.

29. Based on Gail Armstrong Parks "Foxfire: Experiential Education in Rural America" in Jonathan P. Sher (ed.) Rural Education in Urbanized Nations: Issues and Innovations. 1981, Chapter 10 (pp. 277-300).

30. From Robert Ashcroft, "The School as a Base for Community Development" in O.E.C.D. School and Community. Paris, 1975, pp. 30-31.

31. Sources include:

M. Muze "Basic Education - A Community Enterprise " in Community Schools: Report, Recommendations and Papers of a Seminar Held in the United Republic of Tanzania, 22-29 August 1980. Nairobi: Unicef, 1980, pp. 30-35, an address by the Tanzanian Commissioner for National Education.

Samuel N. M. Kilimhana. An Evaluation of the Kwamsisi Experiential Project in Tanzania. M. Ed. Thesis. University of Alberta. Department of Educational Foundations, 1975.

32. These are occasionally run by the Government by focusing on a specific activity to achieve a specific goal within a specific period of time. Examples include "Food is Life" (which concentrated on food production), "Man is Health" (which carried the message of personal and community hygiene) and "Politics is

Agriculture" (which propagated political awareness in conjunction with farm work).

33. Whom Alfred Opubor describes as "semi-literate, underemployed or unemployed" in his foreward to Andrew Moemeka's Local Radio: Community Education for Development. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University, 1981, p. viii.

34. One such confrontation between the school (backed by the Government) and the community over who should exercise control over teachers in a village in Ghana whichled to regrettable actions such as parents withdrawing their children from school, and officials closing the school is recounted by Penelope Roberts in her article.

35. U.N. Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Community Development. Community Development and National Development. New York, 1963, p. 4.

36. As quoted by James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson Jr. (eds.). Community Development in America. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980, p. 205.

37. The idea of aban nipa (Government person) has its origins in colonial agents whom villagers have always regarded as "alien" even if they are Ghanaians. According to Penelope Roberts (1982:269), "teachers were most respected because they were most like Europeans." Liberty Mhlanga equally recognizes this colonial element on p. 64 of his "Rural Development Planning in Africa: Exploring New Alternative Methods," Rural Africana Nos. 12-13, Winter-Spring 1981-82.

38. Penelope Roberts: ibid. p. 272 notes that in spite of community interest in cocoa farming when the beans were introduced in a rural area the school refused to teach its cultivation. People learned the techniques all the same without the school's help.

39. Rural newspapers are reported to have reduced the illiteracy rate in Tanzania from 75-85 per cent to 15-27 percent within ten years by research findings of Keith K. Kanyogonya. "114 Village-Level Newspapers to be Started in Tanzania." Afrolit News Vol 3, Nos. 8 & 9, April-December 1979, p. 14.

40. A teacher, a thinker and a doer, he is the brain behind Botswana's Serowe Brigades - an alternative education programme in Botswana which combines education and production to inculcate academic and work skills into the youth who are rejects of the mainstream education

system. The project, a community education programme only but in name is analyzed in his book The Serowe Brigades: Alternative Education in Botswana. London: McMillan, 1978.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

A stage-by-stage summary of educational development in Ghana was given in Chapter One. That background now leads to throwing into perspective the present national education system. This is what this chapter attempts to do. It describes the present system by outlining its principal features. These include the system's philosophy, principles and policy, its structure, its curriculum and content, its organization and administration, its methods of funding, and its medium of instruction. Any traces of community education that are discernible from the system are described too. This background enables the present national educational system to be seen in perspective. Chapter Three attempts to do this by outlining its principal features.

The structures and elements of the Ghanaian national education system are a legacy of British colonialism (Watson 1982:41) and except for its middle schools, it is similar to the system that was bequeathed to all English speaking countries of middle Africa (George 1976:105). Its neo-colonial features include a multi-faceted dualism, a preponderance of general education curriculum as against vocational or practical education, privatization and commercialization, and a rigid hierarchical structure of graded classes. Since the system pays little attention to out-of-school education, it is more accurately a national "schooling system." This fact is supported by the wording of the current Government blueprint on education published by the Ministry of Education, the New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana which does not at any point acknowledge out-of-school education in the structure.

Policy, Philosophy and Principles

Bowles and others (1976:6) have observed that the objectives of educational policy in developing countries usually include the facilitation of economic growth by wiping out illiteracy and upgrading technical skills and the promotion of economic equality and equality of educational opportunity. To them, however, this is a misconception adopted from the United States, which believes that higher cognitive achievement will lead to a more equitable income distribution because the character and degree of economic inequality are built into the economic system itself. But Government policy on education in Ghana tends to express the view that schooling leads to economic development. The Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development: Financial Years 1963/64 - 1969/70 prescribed the teaching of skills and other attainments that are needed for the running of a modern economy and advocated the introduction of a two-year continuation school in which children were to be introduced to elementary skills that were of immediate economic relevance.

Despite the Pettman (1978:12) argument that development cannot be equated with modernization and westernization, schooling has inaccurately been represented as the most important instrument for the development of the nation's human resources,[1] and the current system envisages instilling in the individual, an appreciation of the need for change directed towards the development of the human and material resources of the country.[2] Curriculum emphasis, however, remains on the training for the acquisition of cognitive skills.

Villagers, on their part, recognize schooling as the avenue for physical mobility from the poor village to the glamorous city; and a means of occupational mobility from tedious back-breaking farm work to relaxed office work and high social status. Philip Foster (1965) found, in a study on Ghanaian students, that children from the village go to school in order to gain entry into urban jobs in the formal and modernized sector of the economy. Harbison (1967:176) notes that in many rural communities, the education through the school of one or two sons is looked upon as a family investment for which great sacrifices are made. Government educational intentions are thus incongruous with those of villagers, though the incongruity is not absolute because both sides perceive expansion of facilities like school buildings, qualified teachers, equipment, etc. as necessary for the realization of their goals.

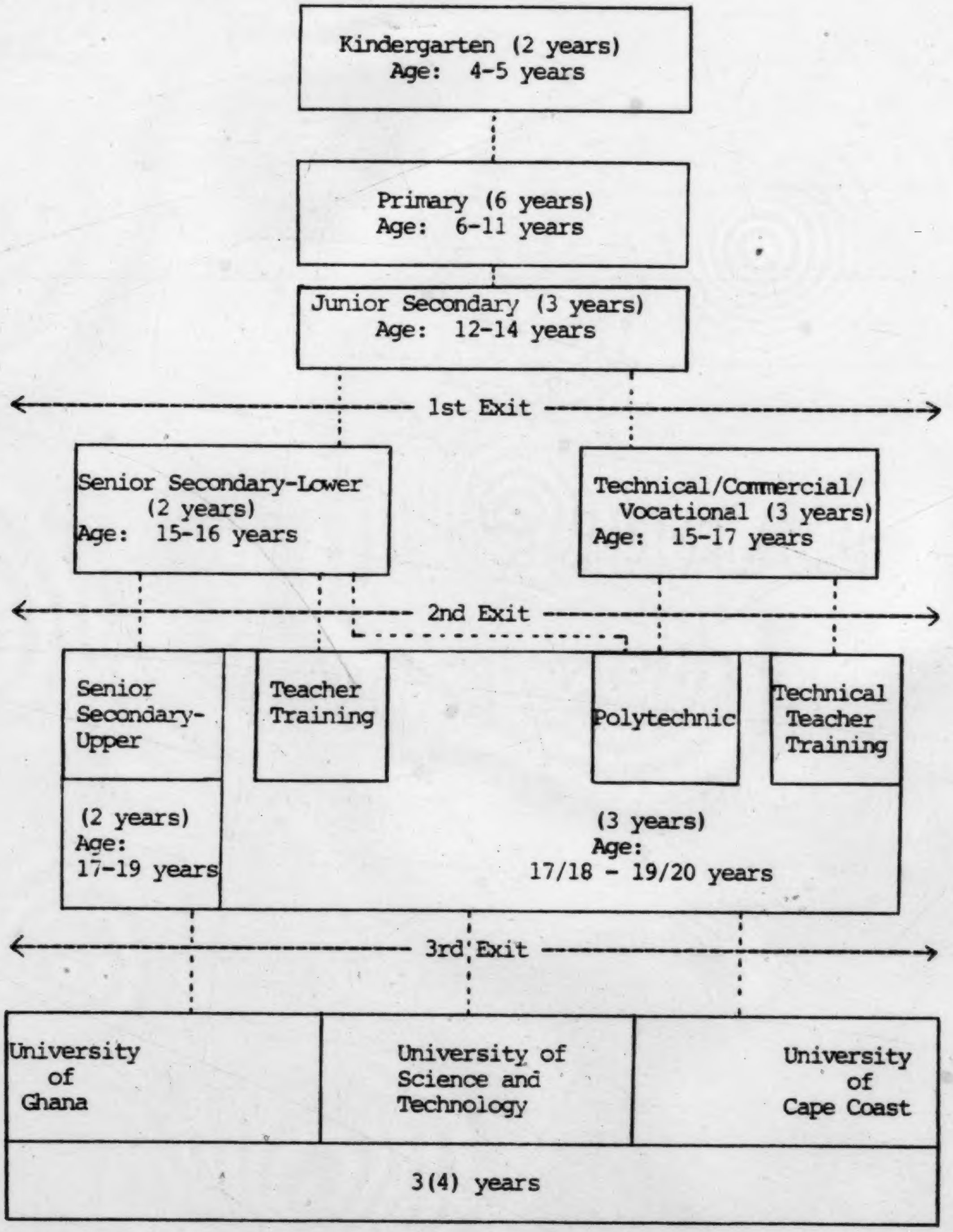
Structure

The system of intramural schoolhouse education in Ghana, like government in the political structure, is highly centralized. It is rigidly structured with clearly defined segments in a hierarchical order and controls to regulate advancement from one grade to another. It is also bureaucratized with an administrative technocracy. The vast learning processes and experiences that take place within the wider society are not recognized by it; rather it attributes all learning and apportions all learning responsibilities and functions to closed classroom education.

Formerly, the system of schooling, as originally inherited from the British colonialists, was a composite of primary, middle, secondary and commercial schools, technical institutions, teacher training colleges and universities. Beginning in 1975, new reforms introduced six years of elementary education instead of the former ten, to be followed by seven years of secondary education, thus cutting the length of pre-university schooling from 17 to 13 years.[3]

The 1975 reforms ushered in the current five-tier system consisting of Kindergarten education, Basic First Cycle education, Second Cycle education, Second Cycle Further Courses education and University education. Figure 1 diagrammatically presents the new system. From the age of four, the child enters the system. Those who have the financial and mental resources as well as the appropriate motivation graduate from the University at age twenty-four.

Figure 1
New Structure of Education from September 1975



Source: H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Poh.
The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline.
London: Longman, 1975, p. 140

The preschool kindergarten programme has a duration of 18 to 24 months for age group four to six years and it is designed mainly to predispose the child to conditions of formal education in order to accelerate the learning process during formal schooling. This level of education is offered by institutions known as kindergartens (in the urban areas) and day nurseries (in the rural areas). Inequality in terms of rural-urban access to educational facilities is noticeable even at this very early stage and if the assertion that these formative years are the most crucial in the school child's development, it would mean a handicap for the village child. In rural areas, preschool institutions, with good equipment and well-trained staff, are few. Kindergartens offering quality educational services are also located primarily in the urban centres. Few villages have them and even those are poorly staffed and ill equipped. Moreover, it is not uncommon for elite institutions like the universities and some high-status secondary schools to run their own "preparatory schools" as catchment schools.

At age six, the child enters primary one on the way into the basic six-year, first-cycle schooling. Many a nomenclature describes these institutions. They may be "primary schools" or "experimental schools" or "practice schools" or "demonstration schools" or "preparatory schools" or "international schools" or even "model schools." Privatization and commercialization of schooling is very vigorous at this level and further widens the educational gap between the village and the city. Public funded primary schools are available to the majority of villages. Indeed, primary school education is the one most accessible to villagers. Physical and staffing conditions of the greater number of them, however, leave much to be desired. Poorly constructed buildings or no buildings at all (some schools are run under trees), inadequate furniture, lack of textbooks and teaching apparatus, and pupil teachers[4] are their lot. The Education Act of 1961 mandated a compulsory fee-free schooling at this level including the free supply of textbooks.[5] Despite this statutory provision, the effects of the legislation are yet to be felt in many villages. These inadequacies limit the chances of pupils enrolled in village schools of fair competition against their counterparts enrolled in the elitist kindergarten, preparatory, experimental or international schools which, being privately owned, are often well-funded, and well-staffed, with excellent facilities. The primary schools are charged with teaching numeracy, literacy and generally inquiry skills as well as creative skills. A later chapter discusses how, as a result of wastage (high drop-out rates), the villages are unable to turn out any significant number of primary school graduates.

Basic, free and compulsory schooling stretches beyond primary institutions to cover the three year Junior Secondary stage which is supposed to equip students with those occupational skills which will enable them to enter into gainful employment to complete the initial nine-year terminal schooling. What occurs in reality in the villages and the rural areas in general is that the former four-year middle school, which provides general education only, refuses to succumb to the new arrangements, owing to Government inability to provide the finance, staff and equipment to execute the programme. Indeed the junior secondary school model operates in the cities only and represents an example of how delay in the implementation of reforms denies the villagers the opportunity of enjoying their fair share of the national cake.

Students face their first major selection experience when they have to overcome the examination barrier between the first and second cycles. The scores from the Common Entrance Examination, administered by the multi-national West African Examinations Council, determine the streaming that occurs at this point into one of the institutions that make up the terminal two-stage bi-exit[6] Second Cycle Education Courses. At the Senior Secondary Level, there is a three-pronged specialization course into which a student may be streamed - general or academic courses leading to the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level), technical, and commercial courses.[7] Institutional location becomes an extra problem for the village student who is already faced with economic problems and thus the chances of his dropping out, before reaching the terminal point of this level, increases.

Those students "who wish to continue formal education and possess the necessary qualifications can proceed to"[8] the three-year Second Cycle Education - Further Courses of the general education Senior Secondary Upper course leading to the present General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) - which earns one the admission to the University; a Teacher Training College; or a Polytechnic. The Polytechnics, Specialist and Teacher Training Colleges are also expected to absorb the pro-academic students who opt for the Senior Secondary Upper stream but are unable to proceed to the University; and who also are encouraged to train for middle level professions, the courses for which are offered by those institutions in the system. This is the last pre-university exit point in the system.

For the fortunate[9] average seventeen-year old, who has scaled all the hurdles thus far in the system, three or four extra years[10] in any of the country's three universities - University of Ghana, University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast - enables him or her to qualify for a first university degree at the age of 20.

Curriculum and Content

To achieve the system's objectives and goals outlined above, major subject groups of languages, mathematics, science, agriculture, as well as practical and vocational subjects are mapped out in addition to students' participation in cultural activities, youth programmes, sports and games. At each level are always core or compulsory subjects and supplementary electives. However, other aspects of school organization such as prescribed textbooks, syllabuses, time allocations as provided by timetabling, schemes of work and topics, make a lot of difference between pupils' achievement in the village school as against the city school. Further splitting of the subjects also raises the issue of relevance, which has been over-flogged by observers of the Ghanaian education scene.[11] The organization of learning is such that the inquiry skills, creative skills and job skills and experience that are projected are unattainable by the village school. Besides the universal nature of the principles of the physical sciences - physics, chemistry, biology - and the general principles enunciated in subjects like economics, deliberate attempts are made to internationalize and nationalize topics of all subjects. The orientation, being normally elitist, prepares students mentally, emotionally, and culturally for city life.

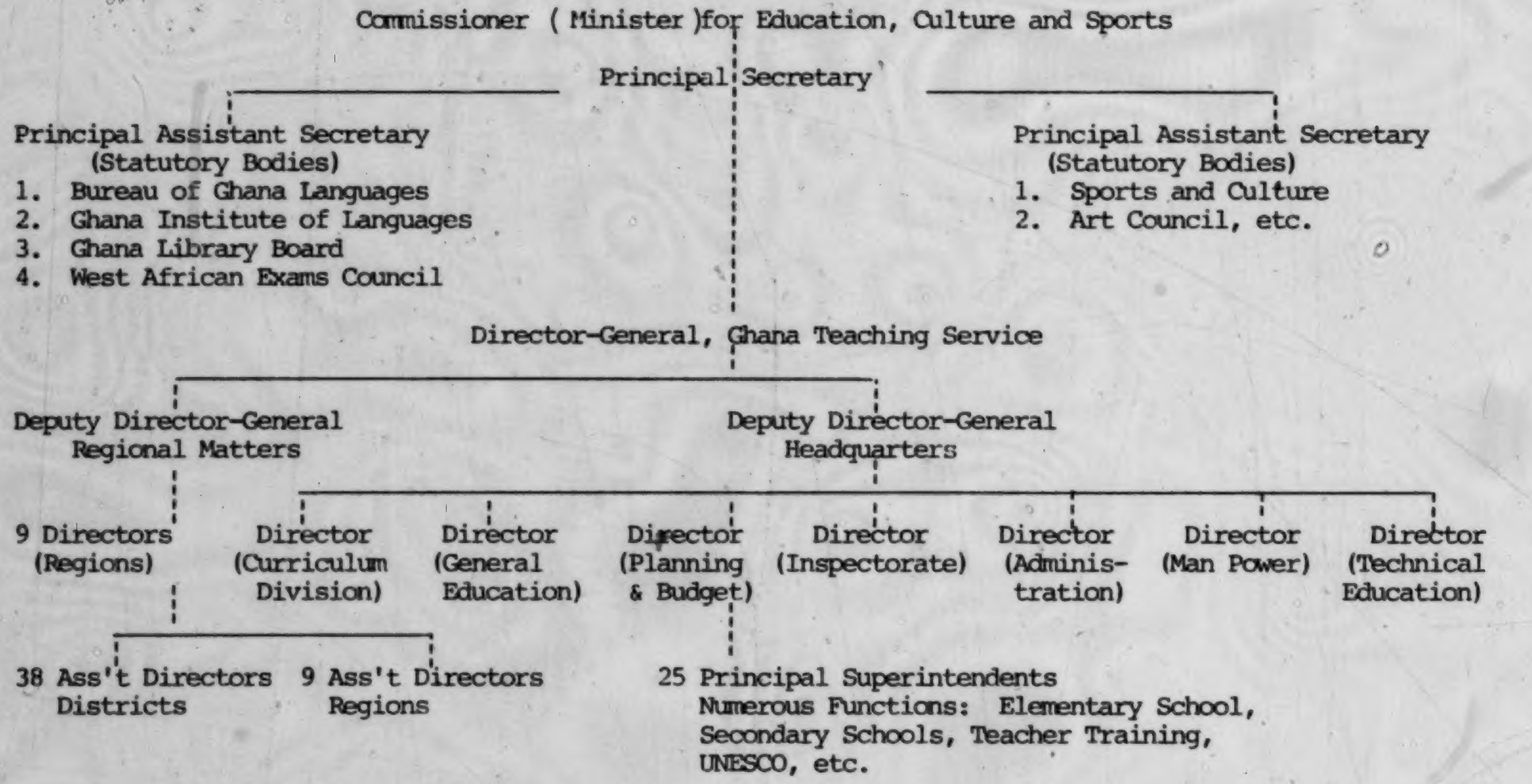
Content that will awaken the pupils to the potentialities and problems of their immediate milieu is rarely incorporated into the curriculum. Vocational and craft lessons are either mere repetitions of those given by parents or are completely strange, given the environment.[12] Local games and sports are not explored, foreign agricultural methods (including using foreign animal and crop species) may be taught to the exclusion of the techniques of agri-business (which the small farmers may need more) and local customs, traditions, political, economic, social and cultural practices and institutions are not represented in the syllabus. Where some leeway may exist for teachers who may want to introduce local substance to exploit, they are restricted by their own training which instills in them urban attitudes and values. The demands of public examination syllabuses which students must satisfy in order to advance in their education also discourage local content.

Organization

Decision making and the dispensation of authority in the system are depicted in Figure 2. Some of the system's features, in practice, have political and professional dimensions, are at national and local levels, are under public and private authority; elitist or mass oriented; and are under central and peripheral control. But by far, its most outstanding feature is its centralization[13] - in terms of decision making and implementation - which engenders a unidirectional communication pattern. It is also monolithic, prescribing common parameters at all levels and thus pre-empting any "unauthorized" input at any point.

Figure 2

Structure of Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service
Pre-University Division


Commissioner (Minister)for Education, Culture and Sports
Principal Secretary
Principal Assistant Secretary (Statutory Bodies)
1. Bureau of Ghana Languages
2. Ghana Institute of Languages
3. Ghana Library Board
4. West African Exams Council
Principal Assistant Secretary (Statutory Bodies)
1. Sports and Culture
2. Art Council, etc.
Director-General, Ghana Teaching Service
Deputy Director-General Regional Matters
Deputy Director-General Headquarters
9 Directors (Regions)
Director (Curriculum Division)
Director (General Education)
Director (Planning & Budget)
Director (Inspectorate)
Director (Administration)
Director (Man Power)
Director (Technical Education)
38 Ass't Directors Districts
9 Ass't Directors Regions
25 Principal Superintendents
Numerous Functions: Elementary School, Secondary Schools, Teacher Training, UNESCO, etc.

Source: H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Poh. The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline. London: Longman, 1975, p. 140.

The Government department in charge of the system is the Ministry of Education. At the apex of the organizational machinery is the political appointee, the PNDC Secretary for Education.[14] He is assisted by two Deputies, also political appointees. Then comes the head of the bureaucracy, the Principal Secretary, who is responsible to the Secretary through the Deputy Secretaries. It is, however, the Ghana Education Service(GES) whose officers are recruited from professional teachers and experienced civil servants, that runs pre-university education (including elementary education which is the most accessible to village children). A Council for Higher Education oversees university administration and reports directly to the Secretary

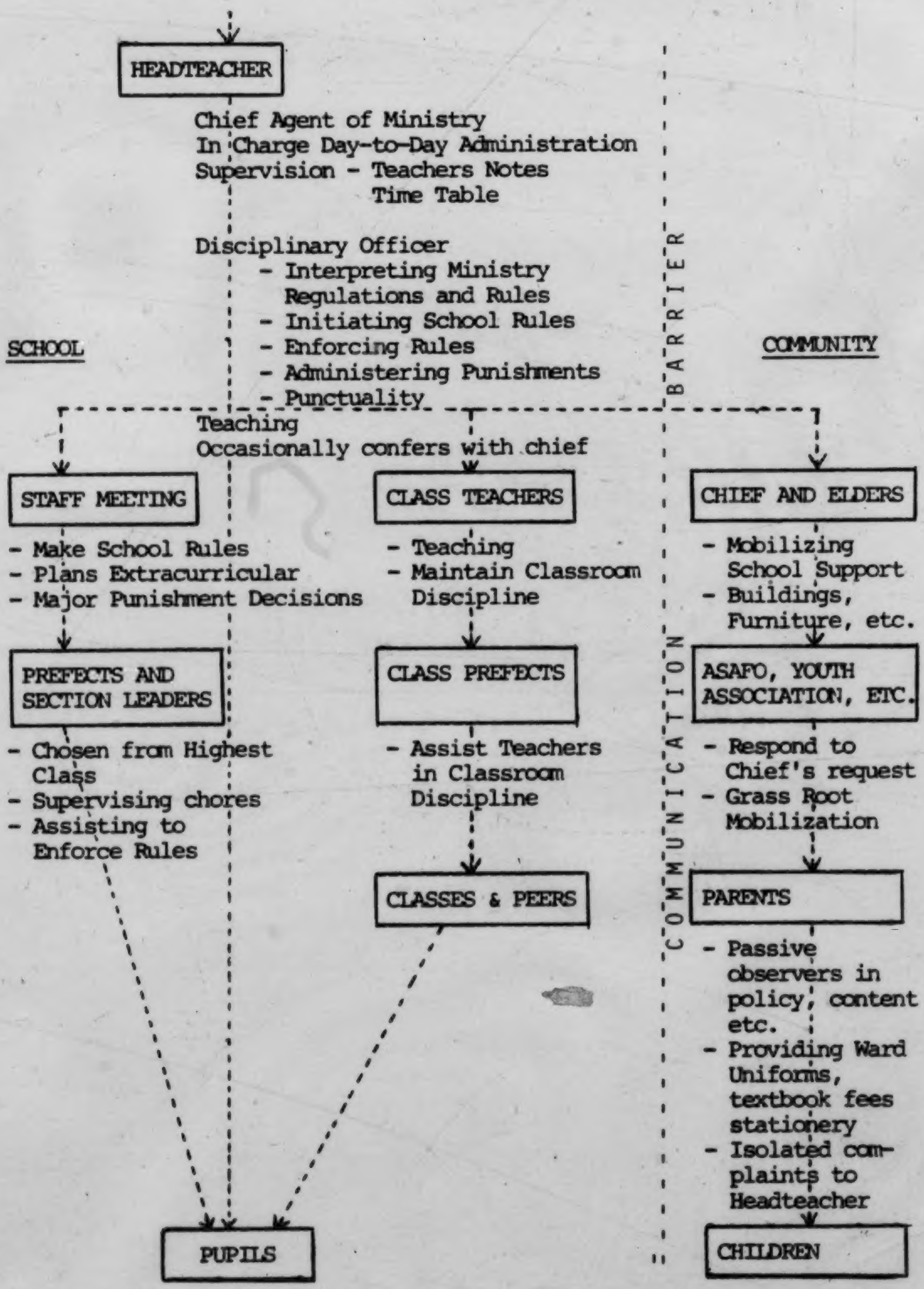
for Education. There are ten Regional Headquarters of the GES at the ten administrative regional capitals, and they co-ordinate the District Headquarters, the nearest educational authority to the village.

As pointed out by McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975:131), the actual management of schools is not a function of the Ministry of Education; its officers are only inspectors and advisors. Elementary schools in the public system are managed by Educational Units[15] (religious bodies) and Local Authorities (Councils) while secondary schools and other post-elementary institutions are managed by triumvirates of Management Committees of Boards of Governors. They fix boarding school fees, in addition to other functions, often on the recommendation of the Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools (CHASS). In elite schools, Parent/Teacher Associations and Old Boys' (Alumni) Associations are instrumental in the selection of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Principals. But these arrangements neither alleviate nor obviate the negative effects of centralization on village schools because the recruitment of teachers, their remuneration, textbooks, curriculum and syllabuses, together with examinations, are all centrally determined through the GES machinery. Both central and peripheral organizations are, however, expected to contribute materially and financially to both recurrent and capital expenditure. Local authorities have greater responsibility to provide funds and facilities since they levy taxes directly. The Minister of Education, under the centralized system, exercises prerogative powers in the recognition of newly established educational institutions as provided by the 1961 Education Act (George 1975:64). The day-to-day organization and administration of the village school as depicted in Figure 3 is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Private participation in ownership and control of pre-university educational institutions (almost to the point of commercialization) is permitted by the system. Programs offered by privately owned secondary, commercial and vocational schools are less marketable, but private primary schools are more prestigious; and more successful at examinations for secondary school selection. But students

Figure 3

A Prototype of Village School Organization and Administration


HEADTEACHER
Chief Agent of Ministry
In Charge Day-to-Day Administration
Supervision - Teachers Notes
Time Table
Disciplinary Officer
- Interpreting Ministry Regulations and Rules
- Initiating School Rules
- Enforcing Rules
- Administering Punishments
- Punctuality
Teaching
Occasionally confers with chief
SCHOOL
BARRIER
COMMUNITY
STAFF MEETING
- Make School Rules
- Plans Extracurricular
- Major Punishment Decisions
PREFECTS AND SECTION LEADERS
- Chosen from Highest Class
- Supervising chores
- Assisting to Enforce Rules
CLASS TEACHERS
- Teaching
- Maintain Classroom Discipline
CLASS PREFECTS
- Assist Teachers in Classroom Discipline
CLASSES & PEERS
PUPILS
COMMUNICATION
CHIEF AND ELDERS
- Mobilizing School Support
- Buildings, Furniture, etc.
ASAFO, YOUTH ASSOCIATION, ETC.
- Respond to Chief's request
- Grass Root Mobilization
PARENTS
- Passive observers in policy, content etc.
- Providing Ward Uniforms, textbook fees stationery
- Isolated complaints to Headteacher
CHILDREN

and pupils enrolled in private schools pay very high fees as against the tuition fee-free and textbook-free programmes of the public schools. The implications of this for rural-urban inequality of schooling opportunities is explained in the next chapter.

Another important feature of the system is the extensive institutionalization of boarding schools. Very few boarding schools exist at the primary level and of those even fewer are well patronized. But they are ubiquitous at the secondary level, though concentrated in the cities, especially those along the coast. Collectively, they function as socialization agents, exposing their charges to western culture, beliefs, and values while ensuring the systematic extinguishing of the students' indigenous tradition and value systems. Some would see this as a brain-washing weapon. For example, the Senegalese writer, Sheikh Hamidou Kane[16] commented that, "More effectively than the gun it (education) makes conquest permanent. The gun coerces the body but the school bewitches the mind." For him, schooling plays an important role in the colonization and (neo-colonization) process. By isolating the students from their villages, the boarding schools can more effectively inculcate foreign tastes, values, mores, beliefs and the rejection of local behavior patterns as part of its de-indigenization strategy. The few students that are uprooted from the village through the siphoning system graduate from these institutions where they are fed, clothed and sheltered by metropolitan methods and are quickly rewarded with positions in the parasitic urban service employment agencies to sustain their consumeristic whetted appetites. Once initiated into the elitist class, they tend to soon forget about village life and are unlikely to return to it.

Financing Schooling

Educational disadvantages the village community suffer by way of limited access, poor staffing, inadequate facilities, and others, notwithstanding, they still bear the brunt of meeting schooling costs. Small farmers pay the highest indirect taxes.[17] Local Councils levy special taxes from time to time to finance schools - taxes urban dwellers never have to pay. And occasionally villagers may collect self-imposed "voluntary" funds[18] for school projects. Parents in the village, like their counterparts elsewhere, pay special textbook fees though their wards in the village schools are generally undersupplied or never receive any supplies at all.

Individual schools are permitted to raise funds on their own through a variety of activities. Open days, school fairs, art and craft sales, parent days, artistic performances, and farm produce are all occasions and avenues for extra fund raising for special projects. Village schools sometimes organize farm labour by pupils and students to finance the school. But in these endeavours the symbols of inequality are glaring. During the centenary anniversary of the elitist Mfantsipim Secondary School in 1976, its alumni mobilized a one million cedi amphitheatre project; and the Government allocated a similar one million cedi special fund for the golden jubilee celebration and visit of Prince Charles to Achimota School (Perhaps the most prestigious secondary school)[19] in 1978, while rural schools barely possessed the minimum facilities for the operation of a school. Whichever way one looks at it, then, formal educational institutions in the village are perpetually disadvantaged in terms of adequate financing in their competition against the prestigious urban schools.

Medium of Instruction

Language policy and practice within the national education system is as complicated as the system itself. The system attaches much weight to foreign languages with special emphasis on English and French. English and French are compulsory subjects from Junior Secondary until the University. English is given greater emphasis as an instrument for communication while French may even be introduced into the primary school curriculum with emphasis on oral and aural activities as soon as conditions will allow.

For many years English has been the major medium of instruction at all levels of formal education. The 1974 policy reiterates that of 1969 (initiated by the Busia administration), stating that the "medium of instruction for the first three years of the primary course shall be the main Ghanaian language spoken in the area"[20] and from there on to be replaced with the English language. Successful practice of this policy over the years has been impeded by factors like the teachers' knowledge and enthusiasm, posting of teachers, language of textbooks, examinations, and the business utility of English language. No lines are drawn between the teaching of English as a subject and teaching subjects in English because teachers are not seriously trained in local languages. Only one specialist Teachers' College in Ghanaian Languages serves the whole country in only six (Akan-Akuapem Twi, Asante-Twi and Fante; Nzema; Ga; Dangme and Ewe) out of the fifty languages. Worse still, graduates from Teachers' Colleges are posted anywhere irrespective of languages understood or spoken (presumably for national unity) and may easily find themselves among villagers whose language may be incomprehensible to them. Also, all textbooks, excepting those on Ghanaian languages, are in English, creating the anxiety among teachers to encourage their students to be able to read them as early as possible. Neither does the fact that all public examinations[21] are conducted in English help the study of Ghanaian languages.

Wilson (1963:12) castigates the first post-independence

Government of Nkrumah for not legislating or enforcing the use of local languages in the educational system of Ghana. Wilson believes that such legislation would have encouraged nationalism, discouraged colonialism, and furthered the idea of African personality. Nkrumah's obsession with national unity with its concomitant anti-tribal stance, coupled with the political lessons of the communal blood-letting in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) in 1961 over indigenous languages, discouraged his Government from selecting an indigenous lingua franca. Also, the fact that business was conducted in English (also the lingua franca) was as much a disincentive for promoting the study and usage of Ghanaian languages because lack of written or spoken ability in English meant a handicap. Nobody would want to ignore the language of government, administration and commerce. The decrease in school time devoted to the study of English between 1964 and 1972 contrasted the increase in time allocated for the study of Ghanaian languages according to Table II.

Table II

Comparing Hours Allocated to Study of English and Ghanaian Languages

Year	Ghanaian Language		English	
	1964	1971-72	1964	1971-72
1	110	250	290	240
2	110	250	290	240
3	165	270	310	270
4	165	270	390	260
5	165	270	390	260
6	165	270	390	
7	90	220	410	240
8	60	210	450	250
9	30	220	470	240
10	30	210	480	250

Source: Betty S. George. Education in Ghana. Washington: U. S. Office of Education, 1976, p. 120.

This appears to refute the above assessment of the language situation. Yet Ghanaian languages remain secondary to English because the latter still maintains its key position in government and business and also because it is serving its role as a mechanism of social stratification so well that the dominating classes prefer to maintain it.[22] There is also no doubt that school and university education given solely in a foreign language, from the earliest age onwards, is a factor contributing to cultural alienation.[23] Village children, whose community and parents are illiterate, cannot count on interaction with fluent speakers or writers in English to increase their knowledge, and are doomed to lose in their competition in public examinations[24] against their peers from the sophisticated private schools where English study is emphasized.

The Rituals of the School

All pupils in first cycle and second cycle institutions wear school uniforms whether they are in private schools or public schools. Khaki colour is very popular with them all. They go through daily rituals of assemblies, prayers, singing the national anthem and reciting the national pledge. Uniforms are symbols of the social role assigned to school going individuals to identify their functions and expectations and designed to regulate the behaviour and actions of deviants like truants, malingerers and vagabonds.

There is a five-day week of at least five hours a day for primary school attendance, five-and-a-half daily for secondary school lessons and some five hours of formal lectures per day in the university for each individual. For a year, there are minimums of 40 school weeks for primary schools, 36 for secondary schools and 32 for the universities.

Community Education

British colonial education policy, founded on political domination and economic exploitation engineered through a highly centralized administration, did little more than the enunciation of platitudes on community education, as it was revealed in Chapter Two. School and community interaction remained nominal. Government paternalism, the roots of which were planted then, and currently being perpetuated in the neo-colonial arrangements that exist, did little to relate the happenings in the school to the immediate community. Mgbemena (1983:32) observes that in Nigeria (which shares British colonial and neo-colonial status with Ghana as well as the colonial domination of their education), teachers began as a select rare elite, employed by either the expatriate missionary or the Government. Roberts (1975:246) found in her study of the village school teacher in Ghana that the role of the school teacher (and indeed, the school itself) had been invented together with its accompanying social status and that it did not fit into the community's organization. Parents, especially those in the villages, were fearful of close association with teachers whom they felt were superior, better educated beings. Though Roberts (1975:247) indicates a decline in such fear and superiority due to expanded formal educational facilities in the post-independence period, the fact remains the British colonial system of administration did not favour much community involvement, and integrating education with the needs of the local communities was never a pressing objective (Mgbemena 1983:32). "The curriculum of the school was largely irrelevant to the sons of peasant farmers who might become peasant farmers themselves," states Roberts

(1982:272). She adds that a brief appearance of agriculture in the village school curriculum in 1916 was quickly obliterated on the orders of the district commissioner because to him cocoa cultivation - the most lucrative economic activity in those days - was not practical for application at home. And today, school community interrelationships remain executed in isolated, unco-ordinated activities.

Parent-teacher associations, the best known of these activities exist nominally. Though they could contribute to enhancing students' academic performance through the joint monitoring of students' progress and an overall advancement of the school if pursued vigorously, there is a general lack of awareness that research has already established that a declining rate of parent participation coincides with deteriorating student motivation and performance.[25] Unless "parent" is qualified here, however, this finding is likely to be misleading. The village parents, illiterate themselves and conscious of the fact that their children are being trained in school for some other far away jobs in far away places, are unlikely to be able to contribute to their children's performance in school (especially the way performance is measured by tests and examinations in general education).

Community education as an educational strategy is neither provided for in official literature nor in policy statements. The nearest said about it is that students at some point are encouraged to offer community service.[26] In recent times, there has been a talk of establishing community secondary schools. As already noted, university students are also being required, under the Okonjo Plan, to undertake community service tasks. But all these fall short of community education as an educational alternative designed with theoretical support.

Summary

An attempt has been made in this chapter to highlight the major features of the schooling system in Ghana from the national perspective. The description reveals a hierarchically structured, bureaucratically administered, formally organized system of learning with a clearly defined and rigid curriculum (which emphasizes general education), characterized by selection and promotion, and with a reward system of diploma awards. Community education is not institutionalized and there is nothing like a structured community education process with defined programmes.

The next chapter analyzes the system as it operates now, paying exceptional attention to its negative effects on village communities and examines whether the evidence adduced from the analysis points to any influence on village community development by the system. These specifics would help provide the evidence that would enable one to ascertain any need for an alternative education that responds to the village community's needs and aspirations and thus enable education to play a leverage role in the community's development.

References

1. Ghana. Central Bureau of Statistics. *Economic Survey 1977-1980*. Accra: Statistical Service Board, 1981, p. 317.

2. Paragraph 4 of *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana*. Accra: Ministry of Education, 1974.

3. N. D. Dzobo. "Innovations in Teacher Education and the Problem of the Unemployed School Leavers in Ghana" in A. Babs Fafunwah et al. (eds). *Association for Teacher Education 1973 Conference Reports and Proceedings*. Ile Ife: University of Ife, 1973, p. 206.

4. Untrained teachers.

5. The Education Act of 1961 decreed formal education tuition free and compulsory and it was complemented with a free textbook supply scheme in 1963. See H. O. A. McWilliams and M. A. Kwamena-Poh. *The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline*. London: Longman, 1975, pp. 97-99 for more provisions of the Act.

6. Second terminal and exit point in the system. It is followed by another exit point at the end of the senior Secondary - Upper Courses.

7. The contents are described in the section under Curriculum and Content.

8. Paragraph 6(iv) of *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana*. p. 2. Though a lot (almost all) of village children may "wish" for "the necessary qualifications" which they might not possess for reasons ranging from finance through facilities to irrelevant and disinterested content limit their chances.

9. Because his socio-economic background and the type of school he attends and its location may be determinant factors in his success.

10. It takes a minimum of three years to obtain a first University degree. In the Universities of Cape Coast and Science and Technology and for professional courses in the University of Ghana, most courses take four years.

11. Questions have been asked since the time of missionary education and still persist.

12. As observed by Angela Browne in her study "Attitudes of Ghanaian Rural Youth Towards Craftwork and Other Occupations." Rural Africana, 10, Spring 1981, pp. 19-29.

13. The Education Act of 1961 which is still valid dictates a public school system provided and controlled by the Central Ministry of Education (George:1975:64).

14. Under the present military administration the title was changed from Minister. At another time, it was Commissioner.

15. In 1971-72 academic year, they were managing 41.7 per cent of total number of primary schools and 17.3 per cent of middle schools. S. K. Odamtten. "The Seventh Day Adventist Church and Education in Ghana." The Oguaa Educator, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1976), pp. 79 and 80.

16. See Keith Buchanan. Reflections on Education in the Third World. Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1975, pp. 31.

18. Two front page stories of the Ghanaian Times (Monday, September 12, 1983) a leading state newspaper recounts some of these experiences. The first was "The Abutia-Teti 'Dunenyo Harborbor,' an all female organization is putting up a ¢150,000 kindergarten, relying on communal labour and voluntary contribution." The second was "The Chief and people of Breman-Dumanu near Breman Asikuma in the Central Region are building a health centre and a middle school block, and have started work on an eight-kilometre feeder road to link the town with Breman-Awiaso. For the ¢1.3 million needed for the projects, the people are paying a special levy of ¢100 a man and ¢150 a woman. They are also doing communal labour once a week."

19. At least four of the country's nine heads of state or governments since independence and the cream of all the cabinets ever formed attended one or both schools. In addition, they dominate the civil service and the armed forces.

20. Paragraph 14 of The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana, p. 4.

21. These include the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) that selects pupils into second cycle institutions, the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) Levels.

22. A point by Philip G. Altbach "The Distribution of Knowledge in the Third World: A Case Study in

Neo-colonialism" in Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (eds.). *Education and Colonialism*. New York: Longman, 1978, p. 307.

23. Unesco. *Education in Africa in the Light of the Lagos Conference (1976)*. Paris: Unesco, 1977, p. 45.

24. Some school administrators are of the opinion that the few village pupils who manage to pass CEE to enter the secondary schools eventually do better than elite schools despite their language handicap in the early stages of their secondary education.

25. Gerald T. Indicato thinks this finding should spur schools and parents on to confer more regularly in his article "Community Involvement and Academic Achievement." *Community Education Journal* Vol. VII, no. 4, July 1980, pp. 6-8.

26. *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana*, pp. 4 and 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

DYSFUNCTIONS OF THE SYSTEM AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE VILLAGE

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the current Ghanaian schooling system with the view to identifying the weaknesses of the system from a broader national perspective as well as the specific dynamics of schooling within the village community. The main tasks of the analysis which is based on the description in the preceding chapter, therefore, are: to expose the dysfunctions of the system in the village; how the system's impact contributes to or deters community development in the village; and establish the justification, if any, for an educational alternative that is most likely to fulfill that function of a catalyst in village community development. By so doing, it would be setting the stage for the construction of a model of community education, which as was determined in Chapter Two, provides a strategy of education and community integration that engenders community development.

General weaknesses in the western prototype formal education system as applied in African nations have been the subject of comment by many an observer of education in these nations. At an Organization of African Unity sponsored conference on education, scientific and technical training in relation to development held in Nairobi in 1968, participants identified the following shortcomings of schooling systems on the African continent: inadequacy of financial resources in relation to needs, enormous wastage at the primary school level, lack of educational facilities combined with a shortage of teachers and resultant overcrowded classes, inadequately trained teachers, and, moreover, the general unsuitability of educational systems that were inherited from former colonial powers. Given the latter, curricula are ill adapted to the economic, social and cultural requirements of African countries and to the psychology of the African peoples.[1] President Nyerere of Tanzania, on his part, enumerates four basic elements of the present system which prevent, or at least discourage, the integration of pupils into the community they will enter but rather foster among them tolerance of inequality, intellectual arrogance and intense individualism (Nyerere 1967:10-11). He asserts that schooling is basically elitist; it divorces its clients from the community it is supposed to be preparing them for; it fosters among pupils the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired only from books or from those who have been through a formal education; and it takes out of productive work some of the nation's healthiest and strongest young men and women.

Val McCormie also criticizes the system for continuously producing increasing numbers of persons fitted for the professions, the bureaucracy or white-collar jobs, and that merely increasing the number of schools, pupils and teachers, and years of schooling will not necessarily lead to development,[2] especially if the school is detached from its environment. And writing specifically on the Ghanaian situation, Dompreh (1968:135-144) had identified some of the major shortcomings of the problems as: wastage (defined by him as the failure to complete a course one is enrolled in) at the primary and middle school levels; heavy emphasis on literary scholarship; lack of trained teachers; the great length of pre-university schooling; and financing and equipping institutions. It will be demonstrated later in this chapter that these problems do not only still persist but they have been aggravated in some cases.

Dualism - The Hydra-Headed Syndrome

An all pervading characteristic of the Ghanaian formal education system is the dualism which is manifested in various forms (see Figure 4) and dimensions and which affect inequality, deprivation, undemocratic practices and the formulation of national goals reflective of all sections of the nation's population. Lines of polarization are readily drawn between the public and private school, the urban and rural school and between western schooling (represented by the national formal system) and the indigenous informal education. A fourth dichotomy exists as a result of the selective implementation of policies emanating from the centre which enables two or even

Figure 4

Dualism in the Ghanaian Education System

CATEGORY	POLARITIES
ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY	1. Religious 2. Secular
OWNERSHIP	1. Public 2. Private
LOCATION	1. City (Urban) 2. Village (Rural)
STRUCTURE^0	1. Formal (Western) 2. Informal (Indigenous)
ADAPTABILITY$^+$	1. Dynamic 2. Static
ATTENDANCE PATTERN	1. Day (Non-residential) 2. Boarding (Residential)
AGE^X	1. Child (In-School) 2. Adult (Out-of-School)
SEX*	1. Male 2. Female

0 Includes occasional non-formal activities too.

+ Proximity to the centre of authority (Ministry of Education) determines response to change. Periphery is thus less likely to respond to reforms.

X In villages where adult basic education is organized classes are held outside the school.

* Mainly co-educational at Elementary and Tertiary stages. The dichotomy is most visible at the Secondary stage.

more structures within the same system to operate simultaneously. The continuing existence of middle and continuation schools (mainly in the rural areas) alongside junior secondary schools (more widespread in the urban areas) is an example of this co-existence. The last two years of the middle school were supposed to have been converted by 1965 into continuation schools which in turn were to constitute part of the junior secondary schools as at 1975. But remnants of middle schools and continuation schools can still be found in the rural areas.

A possible fifth dichotomy pertains to the different characteristics and operational methods of day and boarding schools. Age and gender may also constitute a basis for discrimination within the system. Whereas schooling is exclusively for children or the young, education programmes for adults are available only outside the system. And the existence of all-boys and all-girls[3] schools among co-educational institutions, one could argue, is a form of sexual discrimination. However, it is the ramifications of the above dualisms that the discussion will now focus on.

i. Public and Private Schools

The existence of public and private schools in Ghana at the pre-secondary school level operates to the disadvantage of the rural village children since their access to the more expensive and prestigious private school is severely limited by lack of money and distance from it. Private primary institutions such as the preparatory and international schools concentrate on the preparation of their clients for the Common Entrance Examination, the passport to the secondary school. Ironically, the best secondary schools[4] (which are incidentally public) rely on these schools for their student clientele. The already intense competition for access to the secondary school is thus aggravated by this situation, making the village child's chances of admission even more dismal. A kind of relationship has, therefore, developed between the high-status public secondary schools and high-status private primary schools in which the former consider the latter as their catchment schools and the latter expect to feed the former with students. The high-status private primary school pupil is thus more likely to aspire to a high-status secondary school education and therefore have high academic expectations. This can hardly be said of the village primary school child.

ii. City and Village Schools

Qualities of the urban school are akin to those of the elitist private primary institutions. They attract better qualified staff; they are well equipped; and their students score better in public examinations than those attending rural schools. Children enrolled in rural schools have to contend with substandard schools with untrained teachers, structurally inadequate buildings and the lack of the necessary equipment. Eager parents in the cities, who usually have the resources in terms of stable incomes, are more likely than their rural counterparts to provide their children with after school teachers much in the way concerned Japanese parents send their children to "afternoon juku or cram schools".[5] This is mainly because, in Ghana, better qualified teachers are attracted to the lucrative service conditions offered by private schools with their supplementary after school tutorials for which these teachers receive extra remuneration. These schools are well financed and thus well equipped due to the fees paid by the wealthy parents of their pupils. It must be added that even urban public schools are better staffed, better equipped and have better facilities than the village schools.

Linkages between schooling and the occupational structure are somewhat blurred but, as Weis (1981:322) has shown, linkages do exist. In other words, to some extent, the kind of school (most evident at the secondary school level) one attends may determine his or her ultimate placement within the occupational structure. Graduates of high-status schools are more likely to continue on to university and thus enter high-status jobs. Thus the village child who seeks entrance into the system experiences discrimination because of his or her lesser chance of success at the Common Entrance Examination or the methods and structure of selection. This becomes a factor in limiting the village child's chances of obtaining a more prestigious job.

This situation probably accounts for unemployment in the urban areas being highest among city in-migrants from the villages.[6] There are usually few job openings by the time they arrive in the city in search of jobs. But these few vacancies are quickly filled by urban school graduates, whose acquaintance and familiarity with the city environment (in addition to connections with influential people), give them the edge over migrants from the village whose level of education often does not go beyond the elementary school.[7] Rural-urban migration in itself contributes to a draining of the literacy resources of the village. As observed by Zachariah and Conde,[8] the cities have been gaining in the average number of years of schooling of their populations at the expense of the villages because rural out-migrants into the cities are usually those who have had some years of schooling.

iii. Dynamic and Static Systems

Educational reforms undertaken from time to time are not uniformly implemented throughout the country. As a result terms like "middle school" and "continuation school," which ought to have disappeared from the vocabulary of education in 1965 and 1975 respectively, are still being used because those types of schools still exist in the rural areas.[9] One may reason, then, that in one sense the system is dynamic, responding to occasional changes; and in another sense static, not being affected by the periodic innovations. And it appears proximity to the central administration is a major determinant of dynamism or stagnation in the workings of the system. The villages, separated so farther away from the seat of decision making, are, therefore, disadvantaged in terms of benefitting from reforms initiated in the centre.

(iv) Day and Boarding Schools

Boarding schools and day schools constitute another polarity in the schooling system. At the secondary and tertiary levels, boarding schools are, to some extent, synonymous with high-status schools. They are concentrated in the coastal and inland cities and consider the entire country as their catchment area. Rural secondary schools are often day schools with the immediate surrounding small towns and villages as the catchment area.

The effect of the boarding school system is, perhaps, more devastating on students (insofar as their having to live in village communities is concerned) in terms of the cultural alienation, rather than the inequalities, it fosters. Indeed, King (1976:v) argues that there is a profound contrast between social relations in the schools and the social relations of their immediate environs. To him, the social relations of the ordinary (day) village school are not as remote from the social relations of the surrounding community as are the social relations of the boarding secondary schools and the university makes them into "enclave communities." In a sense, the "ivory tower" syndrome goes as much for the university as it goes for these boarding schools as it does to the universities.

A principal actor in colonial education in Ghana, Reverend A. G. Fraser, had implied the alienation role of the boarding school which is as prominent today as it was when he made the observation in 1933 that:

> Students should be kept in touch with their home life, and should be led to see that village life produced as many opportunities for the use of their intelligence as any other.[10]

The substance of his statement can be evaluated in terms of his example rather than the precept he suggested. For, three decades later, one of his students, a Ghanaian who later became a British protege - Professor of Sociology who became Prime Minister, Dr. K. A. Busia - reminisced as follows:

> At the end of my first year at secondary school (Mfantsipim, Cape-Coast, Ghana), I went home to Wenchi for the Christmas vacation. I had not been home for four years, and on that visit, I became painfully aware of my isolation. I understood our community far less than the boys of my own age who had never been to school. I felt I did not belong to it as much as they did. It was a traumatic experience. My awareness of the problem of the relevance of education to society must have begun then.
>
> Over the years, as I went through College[11] and University, I felt increasingly that the education I received taught me more and more about Europe, and less and less about my own society.[12]

Later he refers to "the unhappy gap between what was taught at school and the life and needs of our society." Zarembka (1969:38) points out that the spatial distance between village school and community, whereby schools are sited outside village habitation boundaries, was to ensure that the rest of the community (apparently considered "uncivilized" by European missionaries) did not contaminate the chosen few who were being Europeanized in the school. Nyerere's (1967:11) observation concurs with the above. As he stated:

> ... the school is always separate; it is not part of the society. The few (villagers) who go to secondary schools are taken many miles away from their homes; they live in an enclave, having permission to go into the town for recreation, but not relating the work of either town or country to their real life - which is lived in the school compound.

Thus, the boarding school can be seen to be an acculturation agency which inculcates in students western tastes (in food, clothing and shelter), forces the acquisition of English language and habits, and instills in students expectations and aspirations that are consistent with elitist city life style but incongruent with local village attitudes, norms, values and life style. Dualism, as reflected in boarding and day schools, in effect, reinforces and accentuates the dualistic nature of the economy - the urbanized modern and traditional village sectors.

v. Indigenous and Western Education

Another dualism is noticed in the total sequestration of the system from the indigenous mode of education. The notion of shushin or moral education, which was at the centre of Japanese traditional curriculum and taught filial piety, loyalty, and nationalism is believed to have been transformed into dotoku, which instructs youngsters in the importance of respect for the common good. In a sense it is these qualities that make Japan's education system truly Japanese[13] and represent an example of successful blending of western education into an indigenous system. In Ghana, the relationship between traditional modes of education and schooling never revealed any such fusion. The western system, through coercion and persuasion, was superimposed on the indigenous education that was being well articulated during the pre-colonial era. Fafunwah(1973:56), Wilson (1963:15-26), Nyerere (1967:2), Busia (1964:Chap. 1) and McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975:Chap 1) make various references to indigenous education - its philosophy and purpose, content, methods of delivery and other modalities. In some ways, their opinions differ, with some of them down playing its usefulness by linking it to superstition and religion while extolling western education (schooling) and its scientological approach to learning. Most of its positive aspects are lost under the negligence, nonchalance, and the lack of interest on the part of African educationists to subject it to critical analysis through intensive research. Busia's belief that "traditional education points to a fundamental truth which cannot be ignored" is countered by his stronger feeling for the need for modern science based education. He makes it sound like the method of science, so dominating in twentieth century inquiry and religiously pursued by schools, ought to be adopted to the exclusion of the methods of tenacity, authority and intuition[14] which are utilized in the indigenous system. The view of McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (p. 8-9), on the other hand, is that "it was important for its moral, practical and vocational approach" and that "the European based educational system could well have retained its valuable components and given them a place in modern education" (p. 9). Wilson, on his part, believes that the qualities of "rote learning and employing the memory and the initiative factors in learning were brought to the learning of the new content from the West" (p. 27). Nyerere (p. 2) thinks that traditional African system of education has objectives of education similar to those of the formalized European system. The difference is that the former is implicit and the latter explicit.

Irrespective of which position one takes, therefore, it can be argued that there are some basic positive ingredients in Ghana's indigenous education system. Thus it is unfortunate that the tendency has been for the educationists to leave investigation into the system to social anthropologists. It is this neglect by educationists of research into indigenous education that denies them a platform upon which a programme of effective educational reform could be based, one that would be more familiar to and therefore better received by the rural populations.

The purpose of indigenous or traditional education, like education within any social system - be it capitalist or communist, western or eastern, developed or developing, industrial or agricultural - is, in the simplest of terms, to prepare young people to live in and to serve the society or community and to transmit the knowledge, skills and values and attitudes of that society or community. Using the family and the community as units of organization, pre-colonial education in Ghana embarked on the task of meeting the needs of the community. At the same time it aimed at imparting special skills to learners in character training for good citizenship and professional training for vocation. It thus catered to the general education of the child as well as provided the skills that would allow him to contribute to the economic and social survival of his or her community. It ensured unity of education and work; it was ubiquitous in the society and not confined to a specific area or to any chosen group of people. It was continuous from cradle to grave. Indigenous education did not discriminate by age or religion. And its gender discrimination was designed to meet the roles assigned to boys and girls, men and women by the community.

The western system, as already established, sometimes discriminates in terms of sex, location, age and other factors. Any educational model that seeks to liberate, produce and equalize must recognize these differences between the two systems. Restricted access to schooling, the heavy drop-out rate (George 1976:220-33) and the resultant semi-literates, as well as the general education oriented curriculum indicate that the majority of village dwellers will have to rely on the traditional pre-colonial modes of education to be able to respond to the demands of their roles in the community.

vi. Child and Adult Education

Separation of school and work is to some extent related to child or adult education. Child education, as prescribed by the national system, centres around schooling. Schools take out of productive work some of the healthiest and strongest young men and women (Nyerere 1967:14). In the pre-1975 system, it could take the individual who pursued uninterruped schooling from elementary to university a minimum of 24 years (or age 30) to enter into productive work. The present structure provides the first exit point after nine years in school (age 15) to qualify to enter the job market. These years of schooling include some of the most potentially productive of a peasant child or youth, who would be making a positive contribution to the economic production of his family. By the age of seven or eight the boy is already helping to clear weeds on the farm at his own pace while the girl assists the mother in the kitchen and on the food crop farm. Soon, around age 12, both are ready to participate in cocoa harvesting besides the daily chores they perform. Ivan Illich (1971:38-42) exemplifies this in his argument on the concept of childhood by drawing inferences from perceptions of the New York slum dweller or the Latin American campesino whose conceptualization of childhood differs from upper and middle class views. He observes that "institutional wisdom" has founded and supported "the present discrimination against infants, adults, and the old in favour of children throughout their adolescence and youth," arguing that childhood is a neo-concept discovered by the capitalist bourgeoisie in the post-industrial revolution times. The strongest and healthiest group of the population are rendered the most idle by the school system, F. Kabba-Diallo (1983:1662) also notes how compulsory and free education in some Northern parts of Nigeria has helped to reduce child labour. The fact that some children pay their way through school from their own independent sources is indicative of their productive capacity. Earnings foregone during schooling years, as argued by Theodore Schultz, are of substantial economic loss to the community.[15]

The schooling system classifies knowledge and its delivery in accordance with the individual student's status as a child or adult. It encourages school pupils to think that all they can offer is to go to school. Through such practices as teaching children to trust the knowledge and wisdom of the elders with contempt, the system undermines the community and its stability as witnessed by recurring socio-political upheavals.

Adult education, which falls outside the schooling system and is basically nonformal in nature,[16] does recognize the need for education and work to go together. Farmers are taught on their farms and workers in their factories. The separate practice of adult education, however, nourishes the dichotomy between child and adult education. Needs of the individual adult and those of the individual child may not be identical. But a continuous education programme for both could do more to foster a harmonious society than the current one that unconsciously antagonizes one age group against another.

Alienation

Much of the incongruity between schooling and the traditional village community is embedded in the dualities which generate double standards in the society. School graduates become strangers in their own communities. Alienation caused by the schooling system is not so much of person from person, or even individual from family (like in industrialized societies as the trend from extended to nuclear family may suggest) but of individual from his society and culture. One of the latent effects of the teachings of the system is urbanism. Urbanization, itself, though not unknown to Ghanaian societies before the advent of Europeans, was given a new impetus by European activities.[17] And as a logical consequence of the market economy that was introduced, the city became the haven for the products of the western schooling that followed mercantile and missionary activities. Urbanist culture that comprises European language, customs, traditions, values, attitudes and artifacts is what the totality of educational content articulates. Urbanism as an anti-village philosophy (its principles are antagonistic to the local tradition and culture that permeates the village community), continuously deprives the village of its manpower by attracting its school graduates while exporting the foreign content of its culture to pollute that of the village through such strategies as schooling. The system has become a tool of social engineering that constantly restores and facilitates the servicing of the parasitic modernized sector of the economy by rural personnel. So far, that aim has been achieved by arming the village people with qualities and skills that can profitably be utilized only in the city. Meanwhile, these very qualities and skills that are ingeniously propagated by the system surreptitiously engender the alienation of students from the cultural ethos of their village communities. Boarding schools, as already argued, excel in this venture.

Mainstream community development theory seeks to promote mutual involvement and concern in communities where alienation has become a pre-eminent social characteristic.[18] As a product of the domination of man's life by rules, machines or institutions in a predetermined way without his being able to control them, alienation symbolizes the hegemony of the elitist controlled national state which suppresses the village community's political and cultural autonomy. Resurrection of local culture and indeed indigenous culture at the national level, in association with the positive aspects of the dominant alien culture of the ruling elite, must be the preoccupation of a community oriented education programme if the status quo described above is to be redressed. Alienation has been one of the main targets of community based education and development programmes and models that are developed in the industrialized world, and notwithstanding the different character it assumes in the Ghanaian context, its importance does not diminish in any way. It does, in fact, raise more problems.

Ghana used to be extolled as the model British colony.[19] Its wealth had been cited often to justify this adulation. Yet behind it all is the cynicism that portrays it as the most 'Britishized' culturally - the result of schooling whose content is devoid of the cultural ethos of the village community: the ideas, values and ideals of its culture.

Inequality

Though there is no general agreement regarding the exact nature of class divisions within the Ghanaian society, class analysts[20] subscribe to a common hypothesis that some form of divisions are discernible within the social structure. Whether contradictions between groups are sharp enough to generate intense conflict and antagonism in a conspicuous class struggle is, however, disputed. But that notwithstanding, both Weis (1979:41-51) and Williamson (1979:Ch.5) have each attempted to argue that schooling serves as a reproductive mechanism for the socio-economic structures of Ghana. Weis (1981:311-322), for instance, establishes, with limitations, linkages between school stratification and the occupational structure, such that graduates from high-status schools are more likely to find employment in high-status occupations.

The higher the public expenditure on an individual's education, the greater are his or her chances of access to a prestigious job; and the number of years spent in school is a determinant of one's accessibility to jobs in the urban wage economy. Thus, the primary or middle school graduate, on whom the Government spends ¢20 a year, qualifies for low-income occupations, whereas the university student, whose education costs the public ¢2,962 per annum, earns the high-income jobs. A situation like that assumes a meritocratic society, afflicted by what R. Dore (1976) calls "the diploma disease" with contested social mobility. However, in reality, the competition is biased against and unfair to the village child as a result of schooling disadvantages that he or she suffers from, and the hidden sponsored mobility of the city child of well-to-do parents.

From earlier observations in the previous chapter, the growth in literacy levels among village communities is hampered by problems of enrollment, attendance and equipment supply. The literacy rate of 22.1 per cent for the rural areas does not, thus, compare favourably to the 50.1 per cent for the urban areas; neither does the 71.9 per cent male household heads and 88.1 per cent of female household heads having never attended school compare favourably to the 40.2 per cent and 71.6 per cent respectively among urban household heads;[21] facts which indicate that villages lag behind cities in in terms of school achievement. Going by the socio-economic status of parents and the level of education of parents as factors in children's performance in school, the village school child stands clearly disadvantaged against the city school child. And since jobs in the modern sector of the economy are more rewarding in terms of wages, incomes are higher in the city than in the village.

A well-articulated mechanism of control designed to maintain standards within the system facilitates and maintains the inequalities of access to educational opportunities. It encapsulates prescribed textbooks, teacher's guides and manuals, timetabling and selection through examinations. These are defined and conducted from the elitist viewpoint of Government and its officers. Prescribed textbooks and teaching methods do not incorporate the traditionally oriented behaviour, values and attitudes of the villagers and demands of examination questions are in no way familiar to the village pupil. Public examinations for selection, streaming and tracking are highly competitive and are conducted from the end of the first cycle primary schooling to university entrance examinations. They are administered on behalf of the Ministry of Education by the multi-national West African Examinations Council.[22] Selection is, thus, as rigorous as in Japan[23] though the results are less rewarding in terms of economic benefits of education (assuming there are any), because of the content. All examinations at all levels are conducted in English. When it is considered that the rural child is often less competent in reading and comprehension, less proficiency in the English language becomes a retarding factor in village children's performance on the Common Entrance Examination.[24] The questions often centre around airplanes and other things and phenomena unfamiliar to the eleven- or twelve-year old village pupil but are commonplace objects to the city pupil. In contrast, there are never questions on yam or cassava cultivation to balance things.

The selection policy of the system, therefore, limits the rural student's access to high-status schools and subsequently to high-status occupations. Implied also are his unequal chances to higher income and greater prestige. Inequalities fostered and encouraged by the system are reflected in less mobility and less income among rural people; and manifested also in the village child's lack of opportunities in the competition against the urban child.

Irrelevance

Education is expected to be relevant to the political, social and economic network in which it functions (Wilson 1963:26). There has seldom been a reform of the country's schooling system that did not attack the question of relevance - not excluding the current system. Attempts to redress the problem of irrelevance have always been evolved through elitist conceptualizations, by bureaucrats, and these therefore fail to gain acceptance by the rural folk. Early vocational education introduced by missionaries,[25] technical education, continuation schools and the latest revived vocational and commercial classes defy all solutions to the problem of irrelevance. The failure could partially be attributed to the failure of the rural people to accept and patronize them. Their remonstration comes in the form of passive resistance and nonco-operation. For, no matter the justification that officials give for introducing these programmes, villagers may perceive them as inimical to their future interests.

Preponderance of a general education curriculum[26] which controls mobility, socially and economically, requires that the individual excels in that area for his personal progress, the prestige of his family, and as a respectable member of his community. The entrenchment of pure knowledge and cognitive skills as the passport to the city (from the village) and its amenities rather than pre-vocational experience has become formidable. Indeed, recent reports suggest that even in Britain, where the traditional grammar school appeared to be giving way to comprehensive schools, there is a resurgence of the former and its "dreaded" selection syndrome.[27] The parochial, palliative approach policy makers adopt by recommending different content for rural school and which they consider as "positive discrimination"[28] is regarded by rural parents and students as deliberately calculated to preclude them from rising to top positions, thus relegating them to low status, menial tasks.

Douglas Frame has argued that what students actually study is not an abstraction called a "subject" or a "discipline" but a person and, thus, "relevance" resides not in a subject or topic to be learned, but in how the teacher and his students think about that subject or topic.[29] It is, however, important to relate the design of basic schooling to the life and work of the wider community (Sinclair 1980: 21). From the teacher's training and what his students have been made to believe by the hegemony of the city over the village, what they study is subject or discipline; and among them high profile subjects and low profile subjects. Subjects on the curriculum such as agriculture are considered to be low profile. They are given little prominence by the time table and they are not required to be examined on by the Common Entrance Examination which is to be passed before any further progress is allowed. Also, the actual content of the subject that is imparted by the teacher has little or no bearing on his experiences in the village and where teachers decide to do anything at all, delivery methods are repetitive of what they gather from home. Nothing new is offered. The presentation itself denigrades local occupations with contemptibility. Details of the subject matter, as particularized or set out in the syllabus and tested, measured, evaluated through examinations, influence the level of interest pupils show in it. Every attempt is made to degrade menial work, especially farming (the predominant occupation in the village), through acts such as punishing pupils to work on farms or to perform menial tasks. English language enjoys far greater attention and importance over the local language; and while questions on the history and geography of foreign countries may appear in examinations nothing can be expected on the local situation.

Generally, schooling, as a subsystem of the national social, political and economic system, does not function on its own. It depends on the larger politico-socio-economic system for direction. What it does then is to echo the low priority accorded the manual nature of economic activities in the village, and thus discourage individuals from settling in those occupations. Incidentally, these are less lucrative and less prestigious jobs compared to those in the urban areas; and are also at the negative side of the wage differential (between rural and urban), which exists within the national wage structure, and is perpetuated by the national economic system.

Unemployment

Though schooling as an independent factor, may not lead to unemployment among villagers, a preponderance of some or all of the above weaknesses in the system may lead to unemployment among village school graduates. Rural-urban migration is largely dependent on the schooling system.[30] Ewusi (1978) found, in his micro study of six villages, that the two major reasons village youth migrated to cities and towns were to seek employment and to continue their education. An overwhelming 72 per cent of all interviewees in one village cited the first of these two reasons. Owing to the dearth of schooling facilities in the villages, those children who are fortunate enough to gain admission into a secondary school have to move to a big town or city where they are sited. By the time they complete their studies, they are already immersed into the occupational culture as well as the living style of the urban area. They then stay on to work, forgetting about the village. Those who complete their elementary schooling in the village are ill equipped for agricultural practice in the village. The skills acquired in schools make them functional literates only.[31] Thus, they troop to the city where they hope to find the clerical white-collar jobs for which their skills qualify them. The inability of the economy to expand in the service sector where most of these jobs are available has resulted in extremely limited job opportunities. And the majority of the migrant elementary school graduates from the village roam the streets of the city, jobless.[32]

Sometimes, the impression is created that it is the unavailability of land which propels village school graduates into the cities in search of jobs.[33] This is erroneous, given the the corporate land ownership system in the village which entitles each individual in the village to a piece of land.[34] It is, therefore, the lack of will and skill (as inculcated in the pupil by the school) to till the land that act as the greatest push factor for migration to the city. While preparation by the school becomes a push factor, the overconcentration of the "good things" of life - higher wages, more prestigious jobs, greater amenities - becomes a pull factor for the village school graduate to migrate to the city.

By implication, the siphoning of the village's virile youth and only literate children affects its performance in economic production and deprives the illiterate of the benefit of learning from those who have acquired literacy. For these young people do not only constitute the strongest, healthiest and potentially most productive among the population of the village community,[35] but they also have the skills of reading, writing and numeracy which they could impart to the illiterate majority.

Wastage

Some 18.7 per cent of all Government expenditures in 1972 was on 34.2 per cent of the 6-29 year age group of the country's population who were enrolled in various levels of the schooling system. It is estimated that by the 1979/80 academic year 22.0 per cent of the total Government expenditures was being spent on the 16.0 per cent of the population who were enrolled in primary, middle and secondary schools and the universities - though others in teacher training colleges, polytechnics and technical schools were also to benefit from that allocation. Justification for spending such a large portion of the national income in this way is questionable, given the wastage in the system.

Between the academic years 1976/77 and 1977/78 formal education costs rose by 58.5 per cent but enrollments in various institutions increased by only 2.7 per cent for primary schools, 2.0 per cent for middle schools, 6.4 per cent for secondary schools and 5.0 per cent for universities (see Tables IIIa and IIIb). Owing to frequent changes in government, comprehensive statistics on education are difficult to come by. But earlier statistics by Betty S. George (1976:201-218, 220-282) show significant level of

Table IIIa

Government Outlays on Education

	Current Expenditure	Capital Expenditure	Total	
	¢ Million	¢ Million	¢ Million	As % of Total Gov't Expenditure
1965/76	254.3	67.4	321.7	22.4
1976/77	314.3	102.1	416.4	21.4
1977/78	557.6	102.2	659.8	21.9
1978/79[S]	736.1	114.6	850.7	22.7
1979/80[S]	964.9	60.7	1,025.6	22.0

+ Current and Capital

S Revised Estimates

Table IIIb

Enrollments in Schools and Universities

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80
Primary Schools	1,157,303	1,213,291	1,246,482	1,295,525	1,535,463
Middle Schools	451,562	464,614	474,344	489,209	522,170
Secondary Schools	81,258	87,285	92,867	99,916	106,616
Universities	7,179	7,810	8,201	8,455	8,286

Source: Ghana. Economic Survey 1977-80.
Accra: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1981, p. 318.

wastage in the system that is unlikely to have changed for the better, due to the rising rate of population growth and increasing educational costs per school child. Many clogs, created by stiff public examinations, obstruct the transition from primary to middle school, from middle school to secondary and technical schools, from junior secondary to senior secondary, from first cycle to second cycle institutions, from secondary school to the sixth form, from second cycle to third cycle institutions, from sixth form to university, and others. Besides these conspicuous dropout points, other factors such as repetitions, financial constraints to pupils and students that lead to withdrawals, and closure or merger of schools or institutions, impede student flow, especially in the pre-university general education system.

George's (1976) figures reveal that, at the primary and middle school level (the level available to village communities), 19 per cent of children who begin school do not go on to the second year. More moderate numbers either drop out or repeat in each of the following grades with the result being that more than 45 per cent of the students who begin school do not reach the sixth year of elementary education at the expected time, having either dropped out of school or repeated (p. 220). At the transition point between the primary and middle school (from Primary 6 to Middle Form 1) level, the drop-out rate is put at 85 per cent. And George's projections are that overall wastage rates have been increasing rather than decreasing.

The juncture between the Middle School and the Secondary School level where the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) selects from prospective candidates has proved to be a real bottleneck in the system. Of the 442,302 students[36] enrolled in Middle Forms 1, 2, 3 and 4 in the 1970-71 academic year who were qualified to write the CEE at the end of the school year, 13,059 found themselves in Secondary Form 1 classes at the beginning of the 1971-72 academic year. Not everybody writes the CEE (many children cannot afford the examination fee). But given that a substantial number of Secondary Form 1 places are secured by candidates from the elite private schools, the competition is certainly very keen. George found that of the 74,531 candidates who actually took the CEE in 1970-71, a mere 13,059 - only 19 per cent - entered secondary school in 1971-72 (Weis 1981:314). She adds that less than one-fifth of the students actively seeking admission by taking the CEE usually find first year places in public secondary schools.

Coupled with the unencouraging proportions of the population who gain access to formal education, wastage threatens universal access to the opportunities offered by schooling. Neither is the nation approaching anywhere near the United Nations target of complete national literacy by the year 2000. Wastage will persist on a large scale and it is the village population that is likely to bear the brunt.

Separation of School and Work

Education systems that unify school and work are able to channel energy, characterizing the youthful exuberance of their students, into useful labour, thereby contributing to economic production.[37] The national system of schooling reduces the labour force available for village agriculture in two ways: first by creating escape routes to the city, and secondly by imprisoning students through school activities that occupy them throughout the period of their study. This way, it denies parents the much needed help of their children on the farms and the students their earning power.

It is not unusual for a village child to finance his own schooling. Opportunities abound in the way of minor economic activities like collecting agricultural produce (e.g. cola nuts) for marketing, using skills acquired in craftwork to produce items for sale or offering one's labour on farms for fees. Village students still do indulge in these activities on a reduced scale during weekends. The Niger State Government in Nigeria is said to have cautioned against limiting the minimum working age to 12 to check exploitation of child labour, for it imposes a period of idleness on children who have no access to schooling.[38] Schooling as a concept had its origins in loitering children who needed to be kept busy after the abolition of child labour in the early days of industrialization in Europe.

The idea has since permeated other societies in the form of the western education model - the school being considered the only appropriate place for the child. Children are, therefore, to be compelled, coerced or cajoled and hurried through school so that they will be fit for work by the time they reach "adulthood." But the idea stands opposed to the determination of villagers to incorporate productive work into child upbringing. Ewusi (1978) found in his study that 43.4 per cent of the population were in the age range 0-14, 24.6 in the 15-29 range, and 13.0 per cent in the 30-44 range. The fact that the 0-29 range will have the bulk of school goers shows how much labour the village can lose in a given year.

Any education system that aims to make children from the village community adult citizens who live fulfilling lives as producers and not consumers (with less productive capacities) must ensure that education and work are one and inseparable. Unification of study and work is one of the positive attributes of the indigenous education system which schooling has failed to include. And by its omission, children are being made to hate menial occupations that are practised in the village and the environs at large.

Democracy

Teaching children the ideals of democracy is one of the chief tasks of schooling, according to liberal thought. The declaration of the Lagos Conference of African member states of Unesco stressed the need for democratic education[39] as one of its cardinal concerns. That is to say, the schools are expected to inculcate in the young the love of freedom and the belief that they are guaranteed in the participation in decision making on matters affecting them.

This notion is posited against the background of a political and economic domination of the periphery (village) by the centre (city) which the schooling system lubricates. The village school operates on instructions and directions issued from the Ministry of Education in the capital city and relayed through its regional and local agencies to the village where it is implemented by the staff without question (see Figures 2 and 3). The nearest students come to exercising authority is for a few to oversee their colleagues' compliance to school regulations, the origins of which are strange, and perhaps, which they may not comprehend. Students are precluded from the decision making process as supported by the organizational structure (see Figure 3).

Outside the school, the village community has minimal control over its own affairs, with visiting Government officials deciding for them. The turbulence of national politics with frequent forcible seizure of power by the military makes a mockery of freedom and the liberty of the individual. Recently a point was raised about the inability of a star witness (in an election tribunal case, on whose evidence, justice, fair play, free and fair elections and the rule of law rested) to create an impact on the case because she was an illiterate. Apparently, she could specify neither the tribunal's electoral definition of under age nor read the registration number of a voter's card she had seized. She was unable to tell one voter's card from another because she could not read. The judge dismissed her evidence as "spurious" since she could not make the distinctions.[40]

However, ideally, democracy would require free and equal access to educational opportunities and that schooling would be universal. Observations made earlier in this chapter clearly emphasize the system's incapability of achieving total literacy. Genuine efforts at education to liberate the village community and facilitate democratic rights are beyond schooling since its purpose now is to lubricate an undemocratic wheel.

Schooling and Village Community Development

The foregoing analysis and discussion has been an attempt to establish how schooling, as a state apparatus designed to service the more powerful social, economic and political wishes of the dominant elite,[41] reinforces and reproduces injustices meted out to the village community by the central authority based in the city. The paternalistic posture adopted by the urban sector and the resultant concomitant dependency relationship with the rural sector generate for the latter the concomitant problems of cultural alienation and domination, inequality of educational opportunities, irrelevance, unemployment and wastage. Local communities neither exercise local control over the school nor participate effectively in what is supposed to be "their own" schools. In effect, little or nothing is done to achieve village development through village education. Coincidentally, these are among the most pressing problems that an authentic community education programme that aims at the development of the village and its community ought to address.

No direct linkages between schooling and village development can be readily established. The village school headteacher or teacher may be described as an animator, a change agent or a facilitator[42] but this will be a far-fetched description because their influence in that direction is of minor consequence. The villagers' insatiable desire for formal education for their children may motivate them to pool their communal resources together to construct school buildings or provide equipment; and the same spirit urges their investment in other amenities. Where organized farm labour is provided by schools they are of immense assistance to farmers who may face acute labour shortage in the peak periods of land clearance, planting or harvesting. Very few schools are even able to venture that far since local authority regulations over the schools may not permit that kind of action. Again, illiterate parents enjoy paltry patronage of teachers and pupils who read or write letters for them. Occasionally, a successful son or daughter (or groups of such) may sponsor a project in the village. Such projects vary from church buildings, electricity, good drinking water to macadamized roads and school buildings or equipment.[43] Even these spill-offs are as rare as a concern on the part of the central Government's for the well-being of the villagers.

To construct a model that marries the objectives of the school and the community and seeks a merger of the individual's goals with community goals, is the task that the next chapter attempts to accomplish. That model will seek the understanding that formal education is but one factor among the needs of villagers and that schooling cannot solely cater to the multifarious needs of villagers.[44]

Summary

The magnitude of the incongruities between schooling and village communities and the attendant problems they create for these communities indicate a need for an alternative education strategy to combat villagers' problems. From the above analysis, it is obvious that to a very large extent the schooling system in Ghana is problematic in many ways. It contributes to the creation of a number of problems, particularly within village communities including the alienation of the school from the rest of the community, educational inequalities in which village children are the losers, educational irrelevance in terms of content and structure as they pertain to the immediate needs of village communities, wastage in educational resources, and the separation of school from work. And these problems together do not encourage village community development.

These problems may be solved through a well-designed community education strategy as presented in Chapter Two. The problem solving capacity of the strategy, engendered through its process and programmes which integrates education into its community, makes education more responsive to the community's needs and therefore links education directly to village community development. The task of the next chapter then, is to attempt to develop a community education model that will meet this challenge.

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2. Quoted in a report in the *Daily Gleaner* of Jamaica, headlined "2-Day Conference Decides Education Holds Key to Development."

3. The question of disproportionate representation of males and females in secondary schools in Ghana is examined by Lois Weis "Schooling and Patterns of Access in Ghana." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* Vol. 15, No. 2, 1981, pp. 311-322.

4. Schools are stratified using the criteria of quality of staff, physical structures or facilities and most importantly results of the West African Examinations Council Ordinary and Advanced Level General Certificate of Education Examinations.

5. An important phenomenon in the fierce competition among Japanese children to gain access to tertiary institutions as outlined by a *Time* education report entitled "Schooling for Common Good," August 1, 1983, p. 64.

6. See K. C. Zachariah and Julien Conde. *Migration in West Africa: Demographic Aspects*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1981 for statistics on the influx of the rural youth in rural-urban migration in Ghana.

7. The problem of unemployment has been most acute among elementary school graduates who migrate to the cities in search of jobs and many Governments - from colonial times through independence - have suffered from the consequences of their inability to deal with the problem.

8. K. C. Zachariah and Julien Conde: ibid. p. 11-13.

9. The official Government publication, *Economic Survey 1977-80*, published in 1981 uses these terms consistently in its education section, pp. 319-320.

10. Reverend A. G. Fraser was the first Principal of Achimota College, the first entirely publicly owned Government Teacher Training College and later secondary school. His 1933 statement is reported in *West Africa*, No. 3437, 27 June, 1983, p. 1514.

11. Achimota College.

12. K. A. Busia. Purposeful Education for Africa. London: Mouton & Co., 1964, p. 7.

13. Expressed view from the article "Schooling for the Common Good Shushin, Spirit and Internationally Envied Success." Time, August 1, 1983, pp. 64-65.

14. The four methods of knowledge acquisition elucidated by R. Morris Cohen and Ernest Nagel in their An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, pp. 192-196, in their discussion on fixation of belief.

15. Theodore W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," in J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.) Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 313-324.

16. Many adult education programmes in Ghana, particularly those administered by the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana, are tied to the apron strings of the schooling system - stressing the acquisition of degrees and diplomas and marked by selection.

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18. Robert Ashcroft's observation in his discussion of the theories of community development in "The School as a Base for Community Development." School and Community. Paris: OECD, 1975, pp. 22-27.

19. See for example George (1976:1) and Roger Genoud (1969).

20. Notable among them are: Kwame Nkrumah. Class Struggle in Africa, London: Panaf, 1970. Samir Amin. The Class Struggle in Africa, Cambridge, Mass.: Africa Research Group, 1974. Thomas Akwasi Aidoo. "Ghana: Social Class, the December Coup and the Prospects for Socialism." Contemporary Marxism No. 6, (Spring 1983), pp. 142-159.

21. Based on the latest population census conducted in 1970 in the micro study of six villages by Kodwo Ewusi. Planning for the Neglected Rural Poor in Ghana. Accra: University of Ghana, 1978, p. 122.

22. A board of examinations embracing the five English speaking (Anglophone) countries in West Africa - Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria.

23. An inference made by the Time article cited above.

24. Administered at the end of First Cycle schooling to select pupils for placement in Secondary Schools. Admissible scores are higher in high-status schools (clustered in the cities) than in low-status schools (nearer the villages). As already noted the type of secondary school attended is often a factor in one's success in examinations to gain access to the university or high-status occupation. Under the pre-1974 system which still operates in village schools, the CEE is written (repeatedly where it applies) from Grade 6 through the Middle School to Middle Form Four (Grade 10).

25. Carpentry, masonry and other related skilled vocations had been introduced in the very early days by the missionaries into the school curriculum but they did not catch on with villagers.

26. Betty S. George: op. cit. p. 108.

27. The Economist, 24-30 September 1983, pp. 53-54.

28. Viewed as compensatory by mainstream thought as suggested by Colin Fletcher "Development in Community Education: A Current Account" in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson (eds.) Issues in Community Education. Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1980, p. 8.

29. J. D. Frame. "The Prison of 'Relevance'." Teacher Education (Spring 1973), pp. 42-51.

30. An obvious statement confirmed by Zachariah and Conde, ibid.

31. Babs A. Fafunwah (1973) opines that schooling is a conduit pipe through which the city attracts village youth and thus considers schooling a push factor for rural-urban migration.

32. Unemployment among elementary school graduates most of whom migrate from the villages has been put at over 30%.

33. See, for example, Thomas Akwasi Aidoo: ibid. p. 156.

34. J. A. Dadson is emphatic that land is available to every native who wants to farm in his own area and that land is not a major problem for prospective farmers.

See his article, "Ghana: Food and the Nation - 2," West Africa July 18, 1983, p. 1660.

35. From Kodwo Ewusi's op. cit. micro study majority of rural outmigrants are in the 15-29 age range.

36. Figure represents those enrolled in public schools only.

37. Socially useful labour offered to increase national economic production occupies a central place in the philosophy of socialist education in the Soviet Union, Cuba and China.

38. Florence Kabba-Diallo. "The Working Child." West Africa 3440, 18 July 1983, p. 1662.

39. Unesco. Education in Africa in the Light of the Lagos Conference (1976). Paris, 1977, p. 49.

40. Ad'Obe Obe, "Litigation and Nigerian Democracy." West Africa, No. 3448, 12 September 1983, pp. 2100.

41. Louis Althuser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)" in Louis Althuser (ed.). Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. M.L.B., 1969, pp. 123-173.

42. See for example P. Roberts. "The Village School Teacher in Ghana" in J. Goody (ed.). Changing Social Structures in Ghana. London: International Africa Institute, 1975, pp. 245-60.

43. Two former heads of government destroyed their entire villages only to rebuild them at public expense.

44. View expressed long ago by A. I. K. Quainoo, "Formal and Informal Education in the Gold Coast Village" in L. J. Lewis (ed.). Perspectives in Mass Education and Community Development. London: Thomas Nelson, 1955, p. 79.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION-AS-COMMUNITY-ENTERPRISE: A COMMUNITY EDUCATION MODEL FOR THE GHANAIAN VILLAGE

In Chapter Two, a framework for a model of community education that is likely to engender community development in a community with the characteristics of the typical Ghanaian village was developed. The analysis suggested that the basic attitudes and indigenous institutional organization of the village be incorporated into educational delivery strategies, thus integrating education and community. This chapter takes the discussion a step further in an attempt to construct a model of community education, based on the information adduced so far. The envisaged model - the education-as-community-enterprise model - is expected to combine the educational functions of indigenous institutions with modern scientific roots of knowledge into an educational package that will directly affect productivity and create environmental awareness among the community members.

The Village Organizational Structure

The socio-political organizational structure of the typical Ghanaian village and its socio-economic characteristics described in Chapter One are closely related to the qualities of a community as defined in Chapter Two. By the criteria set there, the village represents a geopolitical unit within which community education can be practised.

In the indigenous Ghanaian political system, a village community is a unit of the traditional state,[1] deriving its structure and function from within the traditional state (Roberts 1975:247). The values and attitudes of its members are usually shared by all within that traditional state. The village is the smallest political unit of the state with its own Chief and Elders or Councillors. It is politically autonomous in its internal affairs.[2] A village elects its own Chief who only has to be ratified by the Omanhene (the Senior Chief of the traditional state) to whom he swears an oath of allegiance. The village government exercises minor legislative functions - making and enforcing its customary and local bylaws. It also distributes its land among its members and to strangers. Though the highest offices are ascriptive, strangers may be appointed to lower status offices.

As the highest political office holder, the Chief occupies the ancestral stool or skin. He runs the affairs of the village supported by a cohort of court officials such as the linguist (official spokesman), the town crier, messengers and so on, who are themselves farmers in their own right. His ascribed role is usually accompanied by status symbols in the form of assets like farms and land, though he is not necessarily the wealthiest man in the village. Decision making is by the Chief-in-Council with the Elders who are representatives of various clans, and the Queen Mother who is the voice of women at the court. Decisions are arrived at after lengthy debates by consensus or through voting by show of hands. Open meetings for all adults, reminiscent of ancient Athenian forums, are occasionally organized at a common meeting place like the Chief's courtyard or the village market square to resolve major issues - in a kind of referendum. Other village (political) institutions like the Nkwankwaa (Youth Association) and Asafo (civil defence organization) are usually consulted through their spokespersons by the Chief and his Elders before crucial decisions are made. The political structure is, thus, that of a flat-topped pyramid which attracts input from the common people to reach decisions.

These traditional village Councils legislate on minor issues like communal labour and special levies for specific projects, execute these laws, and punish offenders. They also adjudicate in local civil cases like divorce, adultery, intermarriage squabbles and cases of violation of customary rites. A Chief may sit alone as a judge or with a jury of Elders. Elders, however, have limited authority to handle even less serious offences within their familial jurisdiction. Some villages may have Village Development Committees, which are central Government organs that are supposed to represent its project implementation interests locally. But even that does not disturb the village set-up as described here. Thus, the village community is a well-organized and stable social unit with its own organs for the maintenance of law and order. It possesses the authority to impose social sanctions on deviants who violate the norms of the group.

Modern political structures imposed by colonialism have, however, undermined and eroded the influence and authority of the traditional village councils considerably. Instead of making their own decisions, they are often handed decisions to implement. Some of their adjudication powers have been transferred to magistrate courts while school authority runs parallel to the educational function of their supervisory role of indigenous education. While villagers continue to be integrated into the indigenous politics of the traditional state, they are estranged from the politics of the modern nation-state; estranged from the national political process which has relegated them to the peripheral fringes of decision making - an alienation such that they either cast "powerless votes" in national elections (when organized), often for candidates about whom they know little, or fatalistically accept military dictatorship. Not surprisingly then, the villagers, in spite of massive influence and pressure from modern institutions, still cling substantially to indigenous culture.

On its own, though, the relatively democratic indigenous village socio-political organization, coupled with the land ownership structure, keep inequalities at a minimum. As mentioned earlier, the highest political office holder is not necessarily the wealthiest member of the community, though he derives prestige from the respect accorded to his office. Signs of inequalities may, however, be noticeable between individuals, often as a function of differing incomes, or between two villages, due to differing resources and the industry of their members; or even between villages in different regions. Southern villages are more prosperous, because of higher earnings from the more lucrative cocoa and coffee farms, than northern communities which earn less from food crop farms.

Communal Activities

The dynamics of village communal labour (which is still a very potent force in village community organization for development) represents, perhaps, the clearest evidence that indigenous socio-political organization is still a valid, functioning unit. Villagers, in several ways, endeavour to convert the co-operativeness embedded in their spirit of communalism into profitable ventures - mobilizing their labour and material resources to invest in health, sanitation, water supply, schools, post offices and other amenities. Often, the most accessible facilities to them are in their crudest or most raw state; like rain water collected from the roof or water from the stream, light from kerosene lanterns and school blocks of makeshift construction. But through voluntary money contributions, supplemented by kwasafo adwuma[3] or communal labour, they are able to put up stronger school buildings, sink wells, or, even in very rare circumstances, purchase electric generators. The success of such schemes can be attributed to the spirit of sharing and caring among community members which in turn is evidenced by closer bonds, group loyalty, mutual interdependence, and their willingness to co-operate - all of which are characteristics of the village community.

Usually, once communal labour for a project is decided upon, mobilization and publicity is achieved through the various institutions and interest groups like the asafo (civil defence group) and the village council. The Chief, on his part, utilizes the town crier through whom he channels the message and who disseminates the message by beating the gong-gong. Sanctions, in the form of fines in cash or increase in work hours, are imposed on defaulters and absconders or nonconformists. Few people, though, fall within the deviant minority because community values and norms not only require that the offenders' social standing be devalued but also stigmatize them.

Details of development plans and logistics are worked out by the village council. However, wherever they exist, Village Development Committees, in conjunction with

Government animateurs and facilitators, assume that function. Members of the committee are usually branded puppets because Government agents canalize their prejudged plans through these local agents, who are often represented as surrogates without any power or initiative of their own. But things appear to be more in control when under the supervision of the Chief-in-Council. Whichever group is in charge, its functions include co-ordinating resources and supervising work on site as village wards or quarters (demarcated geopolitical sections) take turns to work on allocated days. The time to be spent by the individual on voluntary labour is apportioned in such a way that it does not interrupt his private work. On completion of projects, the committee monitors their use and organizes timely repair works to avoid major damage.

In villages where the Village Development Committee assumes control over the process, the pattern of community development is largely interventionist and approximates Armstrong and others' (1975:20-21) target-centred bureaucratically controlled model of community development programme of the Central Government, as opposed to their man-centred approach which is conceived as an educational process. The process is in no way linked with the village school (where they exist) or village education. Villagers' participation is planned and determined for them (with an insignificant input by them). The autonomy needed in community planning and decision-making is absent. That strategy may thus be construed as an attempt by Government to exploit village collectivity, which has been cultivated through traditional patterns of reciprocity and which acts as a safety valve for the group's survival, by turning the peasants' expectation into a common cause with national objectives (Friedman 1982:11).

On the other hand, routine activities like clearing footpaths leading to farms, river and well sites; cleaning places of convenience; and clearing the bush that grows around the immediate surroundings of the village are autonomously organized activities, spontaneously patronized. They are independently initiated without any external directions or influence. Emergency operations like salvaging a stuck truck somewhere on the farm road, or urgent repairs of a broken bridge are organized in conjunction with the asafo companies. It is important to note that by relying on indigenous institutions villagers do not reject new ideas. They can be receptive to innovation insofar as it is compatible with their lifestyle. As noted elsewhere, extended families applied themselves to growing cocoa once its profitability was established.

The successful execution of such activities by villagers negates the negative image perpetuated by Government change agents and field workers that village communities are backward conservative social entities impervious to change. Villagers have been slowly evolving their own institutions and are both capable and competent enough to assess the value of change and accommodate desirable innovation and change in their own time and at their own pace. A village that was confronted with a choice among a health post, a post office, tarring the village street, electricity, pipe-borne water, a community centre, a day nursery, a shuttle bus, and beekeeping, opted to send two of their young men to go and study bee-keeping so that they could teach it to other villagers.[5] Their justification for the seemingly odd choice was that honey production was a lucrative business which, if they could invest their common fund in, could yield profits that would not only enhance their individual incomes but also leave them with extra money to help finance the other projects. This kind of priority judgement is unlikely to have come from the Government official who represents the Government's view that priority must always go to hospitals, electricity, pipe-borne water and other modern amenities it considers as indices of "development" and never giving thought to raising personal incomes of villagers. The Government expects the villagers to tow the line it has adopted.

Thus, no matter how conservatively villagers are represented either by their institutions or attitudes, there are situations in which they will respond to change and innovation.

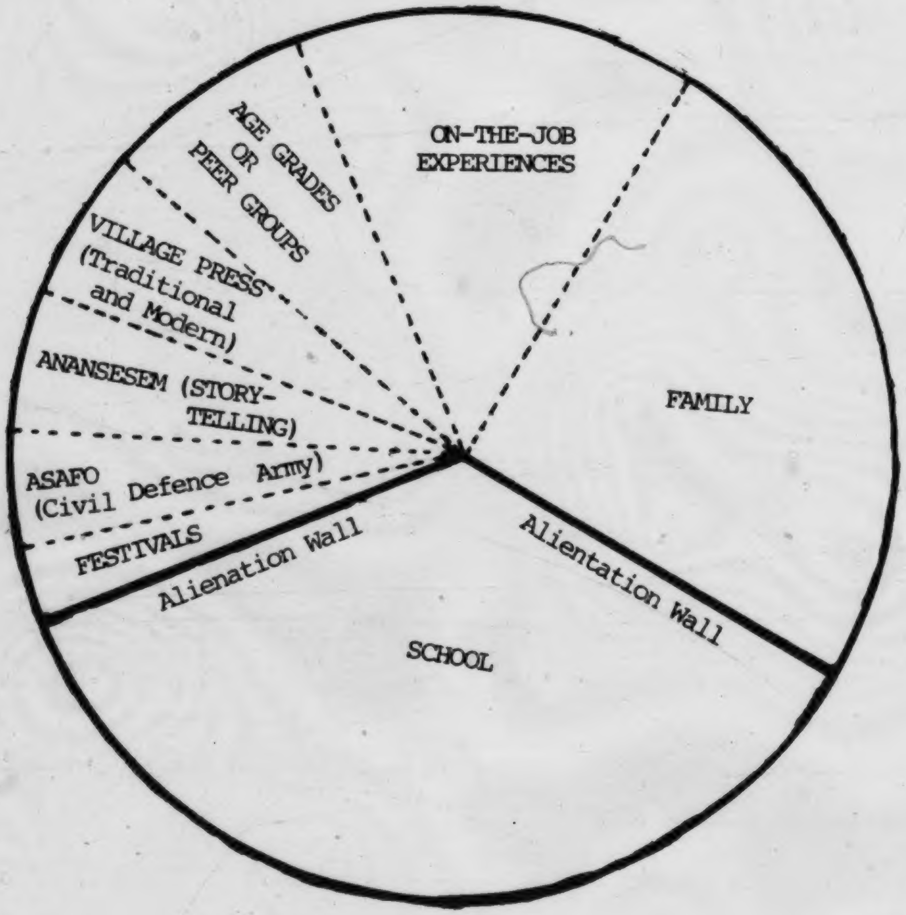
Education in the Village

Most educationists and educators commonly refer to only the school in their discussion of village education in Ghana. In line with the meaning assigned to education by this thesis, village education is being conceived here as the totality of learning activities and experiences that are available to the community both in school and out of school. Village education is, thus, seen as a network of institutions and the activities they organize, deliver or sponsor. These institutions, their educational functions, and the main ideals and skills they inculcate into the young and old of the village are outlined in Figure 5.

The institutions include: the school (where one exists), the family, village festivals, age grades (or peer associations) and professional or occupational establishments as well as what one may describe as the village press. Altogether, learning as it is discharged by these is separated into in-school and out-of-school processes. The educational functions of the school as a social institution within the village, its structure and organization and the socio-economic consequences have been discussed in the preceding chapters. It is, therefore, the out-of-school institutions that perform some educational functions in the village organization structure that are to be examined here.

Figure 5

Inputs Into Current Village Education


ON-THE-JOB EXPERIENCES
AGE GRADES OR PEER GROUPS
VILLAGE PRESS (Traditional and Modern)
ANANSESEM (STORY-TELLING)
ASAFO (Civil Defence Army)
FESTIVALS
FAMILY
Alienation Wall
Alientation Wall
SCHOOL

One of the preoccupations of the family, the oldest of social institutions, is the education element of its socialization tasks. One important role of parents is that of educator, vis a vis, their offspring. Similarly, elders are deemed competent to impart knowledge to children or the young. It has been pointed out elsewhere that schools have found parents so important to the child's education that teachers are made to assume pseudo-parental status as *in loco parentis*. Thus older members of the nuclear family (father, mother and siblings), extended family (uncles, aunts, cousins and grandparents) and even the clan (the elders) are expected to educate the younger members, children and grandchildren. Through the informal methods of imitation, instruction, story telling and occasional dialogue, older family members give the younger ones education that will equip them with occupational skills, sex education, good behaviour and the need to conform to the rest of the community. The child is encouraged to abide by the community's mores and values and to cultivate the accepted attitudes in fulfilling the educational aspects of his or her upbringing as it affects sexual role playing and economic utility.

Age grades or peer associations are usually the agencies charged with the orientation of the adolescent to the challenges of adulthood. In a series of rites and activities, young adults are taught military craft (in the case of the boys) and parental responsibility. Both the

Dipo of the Krobos[6] and the *Bragoro* of the Akans[7] are examples of a package of initiation ceremonies involving education at maturation for girls. By the methods of instruction, imitation, role playing and dialogue, the ideals of the community, like courage, co-operation and competition, are inculcated in the young men and women in accordance with the community's values, mores and aspirations, with emphasis on the need to share and care. Initiation provides another opportunity to impart the set of social ethics based on traditional beliefs, superstitions and rules held within the community to the new adults. Here again, the senior members of the society are the teachers and the junior members the students; though dialogue between peers often may lead to further enlightenment.

Education within the village community is also institutionalized in chieftaincy or the political institution as well as in occupations, especially those requiring special skills. To cultivate the special attributes necessary for his or her office, the Chief-elect's, Queen Mother-elect's or the priest-elect's education begins immediately after his or her election. The candidate is isolated from the community and put into solitary confinement where the knowledgeable elders teach him or her the history, customs and traditions, or the art and science of healing as the case may be. Through assemblies or community public gatherings at the Chief's house, Queen Mother's house, the market square or any other place, the young not only pick up some pieces of advice on their own but are also exposed to the art of public speaking and presenting evidence before a court, and enlightened on community rules and regulations like oaths and their administration. And through theory and practical (including actual economic production) work, the occupational skills of the farmer, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the herbalist are passed on to the young in a kind of apprenticeship system.

Traditionally, at maturation, and as an element of his manhood and citizenship, every able-bodied man had to serve in an asafo company, to learn the art of war and fight under the banner of his company.[8] Today, it can serve as a means of speeding up the political and social education of the nation by teaching technical skills, improving general standards of physical fitness and also "working as the principal instrument of community self-help"[9] as it has always been. Thus, in spite of the fact that the asafo is primarily concerned with the military functions of the community, it also has a major educational role of preparing the individual for heroic levels of inspired leadership in a wide range of fields.

Anansesem[10] or story telling, is an institution in itself which discharges the educational functions of separating the good from the bad. These stories usually draw the moral at the end so that through legends or fables, and at times the life histories of real men, heroism, courage, empathy, sacrifice and generally the virtues that are held by the community are articulated. Perhaps what is needed is that the content and psychology of the stories be linked to relevant issues in the community and to be programmed into the cultural background of the community to provide more inspiring food for creativity.

The village festival is an instrument for maintaining community solidarity. Within a prescribed number of days (once in a year), the dead are remembered, the living are prayed for by invoking the spirits of the ancestors, and the activities for the year just passed are reviewed and reflected on. Quarrels within the family and community are settled in preparation for the challenges of the incoming year. All village members are required to participate. Both young and old, male and female are assigned roles, the responsibilities of which go together to make the celebrations a success. Through a series of ceremonies, a spirit of forgiveness, hard work and thanksgiving is created, during which the emphasis is placed on unity of purpose within the village. It is a period of increasing public awareness of one's religious, cultural, and customary obligations to the community and serves as an annual reminder to the people of the need for co-operation, interdependence, sharing, caring and contributing to the common cause by participating actively in community affairs.

The out-of-school educational process in the village, as discussed above, seems well interlocked into a web of community responsibilities toward the maintenance of its values and toward the realization of its goals and aspirations. The aim of education is a total upbringing of a whole child responsive to the needs of the community and with defined tasks to perform to solve community problems. Delivery methods in the form of instruction, discussion and discourse, dialogue and story telling are accompanied by practical activities to test the level of assimilation and internalization of lessons in the practice of learned skills; activities that incidentally lead directly to the individual's self-development as well as improvement in community life. This improvement is visible in physical projects and implicit in continued sustenance of law and order and a peaceful atmosphere for a successful economic activity. But outside this closely knit institutional framework stands the isolated school - cut off from what the village and its community stand for. One can, therefore, reason that what is needed in the education of the village community in anticipation of direct positive effects of that education for village development, is the incorporation of the school into the larger, more relevant and more influential and beneficial network of out-of-school traditional educational institutions of the village - that is, the integration of the school into the community's education process.

Basic Parameters, Principles and Premise

Proceeding from that perspective and recognizing that "there are needs in every community for community education" (Minzey and LeTarte 1979:19), it is important to state, at this juncture, that this thesis concerns itself with designing a "deschooled" model of community education. The writer disagrees with Wass (1976:239) that it is unrealistic to supplant or do away with the formal education system when seeking educational alternatives. It becomes imperative, when submitting village education in Ghana to a radical reappraisal, to determine appropriate purposes and to shape the system to meet and fulfill them. The model to be proposed aims at integrating the present functions and tasks of the school into the community. The idea of schooling needs to be abandoned since even the "community school" is incapable of achieving its objectives of curing the ills of the community as perceived by its protagonists.

What is envisaged here as crucial is an educational package developed from the community's own institutional framework and structures, the substance of its culture, and its available resources. Into these are to be incorporated the essential elements of schooling such as reading, writing and numeracy - the tools with which villagers will be able to acquire knowledge contained in books. This will invigorate the seemingly moribund and relatively conservative traits of indigenous institutions and make them more responsive to change. The model, then, involves a network of educational, economic and cultural activities that together form a pattern of community education without the schools as they are presently structured and organized. Further, the model to be proposed emphasizes childhood education that focuses directly on meeting the basic needs of man - concentrating on self-reliance in food, shelter, and clothing rather than sophisticated technology; and stressing preventive medicine and simple therapeutic techniques like herbal practice rather than empty health centres. It emphasizes mobilization of all villagers for maximized production at the cheapest cost. Moreover, by guaranteeing the villager's survival, it will set a basic stage for major modernization for greater efficiency.

The model's general conceptual base is, therefore, derived from Seay's idea of education - community relations rather than school-community relations. It incorporates King's (1976:iv) notion of community-conscious education, rather than school-centred community education, by beginning from the community end of the process. And the model is inclined more towards man-centred community development (as an educational process) rather than target-centred (bureaucratically controlled) community development as conceived by Armstrong and others.

Aims and Objectives

The principal aims and objectives that the model of education-as-a-community-enterprise is intended to achieve are:

1. To make education available to all members of the village community to enable each to develop his or her physical, mental, emotional and spiritual capacities for the benefit of the individual, the community and the nation at large; and thus achieve compulsory childhood education as well as basic education for adults.

2. To equip the individual child and adult with theoretical and practical skills focusing on versatility and dexterity that will make them responsive to the local environment yet adaptable to national circumstances.

3. To establish congruency between social relations of education and the social relations of production and politics at the community level by merging the goals of education and the goals of the community.

4. To involve villagers in their own education by encouraging their participation in all aspects of their education and relate what is taught to life.

5. To resuscitate, review and reinforce the educational functions of the traditional village institutions and modernize them so that education will have direct bearing on village community development.

In order to achieve these aims and objectives, the model must be culture based since one of its main tasks is culture transmission. To reach the goal of increased production, the model must be production oriented and unite learning and work. It is also incumbent upon the model to be cost effective (inexpensive) as a condition for achieving equal opportunity of access and ultimately universal compulsory education, which, according to Bentsi-Enchill, is achievable provided education devices, in the form of modernized versions of the traditional types, can be developed.[11] By advocating education as a weapon for solving community problems it is invariably asking for a centrifugal mode for total national development whereby the development of the peripheral village community will determine the national aggregate development at the centre. The model must, therefore, incorporate an element of the national character.

Assumptions

Essentially, the model rests on the following assumptions:

a) That there are needs in every community, and, in this instance, the typical Ghanaian village community, for community education.

b) That there are groups and individuals in the village community that have both the expertise and responsibility for meeting specific community education needs.

c) That apart from human resources the educational structures and institutions of the traditional village community are deemed adequate to support community education.

d) That the education based on and to be provided by the traditional institutions, though vital, is unlikely to meet all the challenges posed by a dynamic and changing community which is under the influence of modernization; hence the need to incorporate the teaching of skills like reading, writing and numeracy now being exclusively provided by the school.

Modalities

The model's framework is that of a combination of programme and process made possible with input from the institutional and human resources within the community as well as the national character introduced from outside the village. Formal schooling, non-formal basic education systems,[12] and informal education systems like indigenous education and both modern and traditional media are intertwined. Figure 6 identifies the various institutions and their resources with which both endogenous and exogenous contributions will be made towards education as a village community enterprise. Figure 7 enumerates the component parts of the curriculum and its three major segments: subjects, practical activity and viable economic activity. The process thus involves utilizing the village's resources at learning spots[13] by executing the curriculum of theory and practical lessons and productive activity in the integration of formal, informal and nonformal education.

a) Structure

As Figure 8 shows, the education-as-a-community-enterprise model is five-tier structured; with each segment known as a Level. Levels One and Two are compulsory but free - making it mandatory for every parent or guardian to ensure that the child or ward successfully completes both levels of education. Levels

Figure 6

Institutional Resources and Participating Agencies in Village Education-as-an-Enterprise

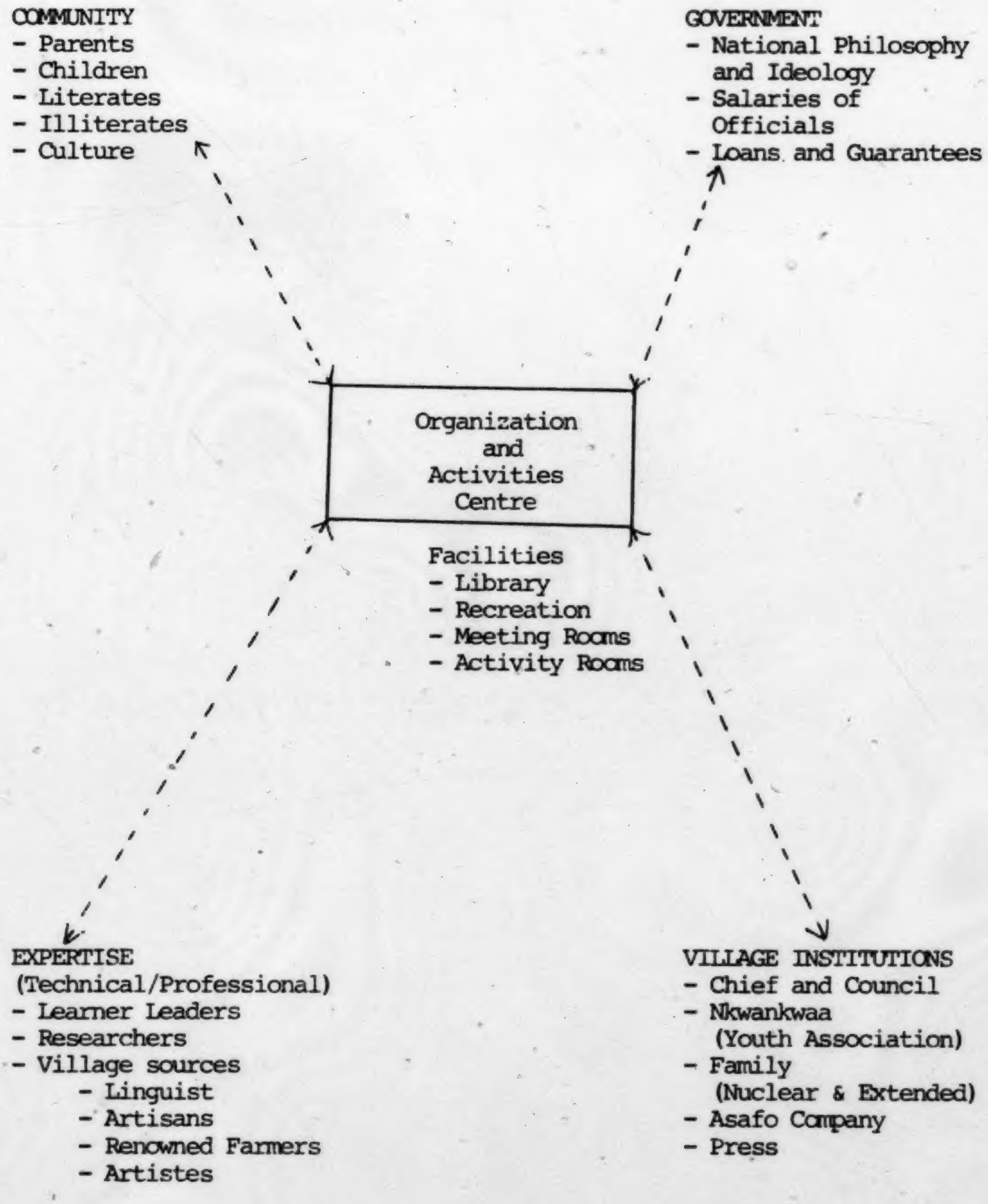


Figure 7

Suggested Curriculum Outline for Village Community Education-As-An-Enterprise for Levels One and Two

1. ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

a) Health

- Personal & Group Hygiene
- Nutrition, Cookery, Food Values
- Birth Control
- Waste Disposal Methods
- Pollution
- Hazards, Accidents & First Aid
- Herbal Administration
- Traditional Healing
- Home Health

b) Economics

- Marketing (Local & External)
- Home Management
- Supply & Demand
- Production & Distribution
- Small Investment
- Banking
- Accounting
- Book-keeping

c) Culture

- Aesthetics
- History of: Village, District Region, Nation & International
- African & World Revolutions
- Music & Dance
- Drama, Poetry, Oratory, etc.
- Religion
- Philosophy
- Rationale Behind Customary Practices

d) Geography

- Village, District, Regional & National Boundaries
- Village Plan, Maps & Mapping
- Local Topography, Vegetation, Relief, Etc.

e) Society

- Power and Authority Structure
- Community Institutions, Their Structures and Functions
- Member Rights, Responsibilities
- Citizenship

f) Technology

- Tools and Instruments
- Building
- Construction
- Various Activity Methods

2. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

- Sports
- Military Training
- Asafo Company Adventures
- Maturation Activities

3. MATHEMATICS

- Numeracy
- Counting
- Measurement
- Reducing Figures to Writing
- Gathering Statistics
- Accounting

4. SCIENCE

- Experimentation & Experiments
- Recording Observations
- Research & Inquiry
- Thinking Science
- Introducing Science Vocabulary into Local Language

5. AGRICULTURE

- Land: Vegetation & Use
- Soils
- Crops - Soil Suitability & Rainfall, Temperature Conditions
- Animal Husbandry & Poultry Keeping
- Fish & Bee Farming
- Herb Farming & Zoos
- Agribusiness

6. CRAFTS & CRAFTWORK

- Local Crafts & Craftsmen
- Foundary & Blacksmithing
- Local Tools & Implements
- Technical Subjects

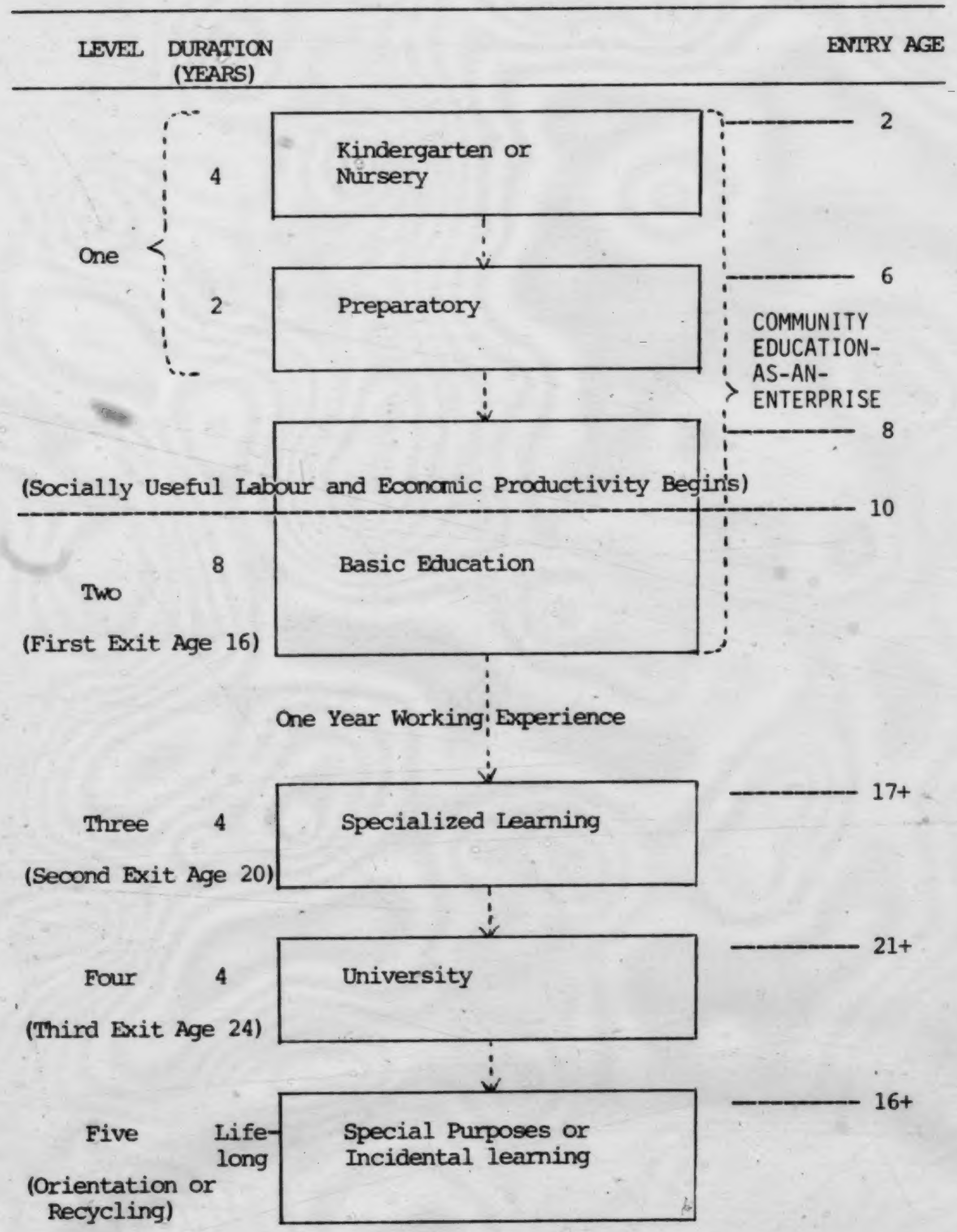
7. LANGUAGE

Ghanaian and English

- Grammar
- Writing or Calligraphy
- Creative Writing
- Speech & Oratory

Figure 8

Structure of the Village Community Education-as-an-Enterprise Model



Three and Four are open to every individual having the aptitude to go through the process. Equality of opportunity and access to education is thus guaranteed for every citizen. The model requires the restructuring of the current terminal formal education into lifelong education by adding a fifth tier of education in the form of continuing mandatory orientation courses, refresher courses, workshops and forums.

Level One involves the education of the very young - from one-year-olds to seven-year-olds. It spans a period of six years. From Figure 8, we can see that Level One is sub-divided into two parts: Early education, or Kindergarten, covering age one to five; and Beginners' or Inter- mediary Education for ages six and seven. Level One thus embraces all educational activities undertaken currently at pre-Kindergarten Level, Kindergarten and the first two years of Primary or First Cycle education. Child care or baby sitting is organized for children six months of age up to two years, at which time they qualify to enter the Kindergarten where current nurseries are merged with Kindergarten education. The emphasis here is on learning by playing and introducing the child to personal hygiene. Activities for the Beginners' Level include teaching reading, writing and numeracy and accompanying parents to the farm or work place to experience what goes on there.

At age eight, a child is qualified to move on to Level Two which spans some eight years, ending at age sixteen.

This Level combines the tasks now being performed by the last five years of primary schooling and middle schooling (present first cycle schooling), continuation schools, junior secondary and the first two years of senior secondary schooling. The end of Level Two, age sixteen, marks the first exit point of the terminal education offered at that Level. Community education, as a distinct and compulsory educational programme, also terminates at this point. To facilitate this, the curriculum aims at inculcating sufficient cognitive and practical skills as well as the ability to produce goods or services profitably so that at graduation the individual is functionally literate, prepared for productive ventures, and sufficiently trained emotionally, morally and practically to be able to fit into the village economy. Signs of the unity of education and productive labour that enable the individual to earn while learning must fully emerge by age ten or the second year of this level.

Every child or individual is expected to experientially obtain a minimum of four out of the eight years of education at Level Two by physically living in an urban or rural environment, depending on the child's place of residence. The arrangement is to guarantee a mandatory complementary _in situ_ experience for the urban child as well as village child, irrespective of his or her place of abode. It is also an unnegotiable criterion for one's progress to Level Three education. The rationale behind the requirement is the need to instill in all citizens the awareness of the problems of the rural periphery on which the wealth of the entire country is based as well as make them aware of the negative effects on national productivity of the consumption oriented urban economy and how they are perpetrated. By the time the sixteen-year-olds complete Level Two community based education, therefore, they are adequately equipped with culture based theoretical and practical skills and the moral fortitude to become economically productive in the village environment, sufficiently imbued with the spirit of sacrifice that enables them to offer communal labour and participate in village affairs. And they would have already learned to earn a living independently.

Specialization in specific skills begins at Level Three which is of four years duration. It is the stage for the preparation of middle level manpower, which means post-secondary institutions like polytehnics, nurses and teacher training colleges are in the ambit of this level of education. Though from this stage education becomes substantially in-school, the Okonjo Plan[14] is of great relevance here to link students constantly to real life situations in the village where they are required to earn their living and help defray part of their education costs for a specific period of time, cumulatively not less than one year, during the four-year period. Both practical experience and production input count towards the student's evaluation during this educational level.

The equivalent of the University level in the new structure is Level Four education, which lasts for four years. Even at this point, practical links to the village are to be encouraged among students, especially professionals like doctors, engineers, teachers and even lawyers to familiarize them with practising their professions in the village setting. Under a revised Okonjo Plan, students are once more confronted with the problems of the village community in the course of their education and given another chance to make these problems their own and help to find solutions to them.

Lifelong education that is responsive to village community problems, even among non-village residents, is further assured by Level Five education. Education at this level consists of a series of organized activities for town and city dwellers, ranging from media campaigns through orientation workshops to actual labour periodically engaged in within the village community. As an incentive to promote this aspect of community education, Level Five education becomes a prerequisite for job promotion (particularly in the public sector) and as a criterion for national honours. It may also be a criterion in the allocation of public amenities like housing in cities.

b) Organization and Administration

Unlike schooling in which kindergarten to secondary learning takes place only in the classroom, the structural organization of learning in the community education model comprises a number of "learning spots" or specially designated venues in the village where learning activities take place (see Figure 9). The network of learning spots include points like the home, the farm and the workshop. This is the major characteristic of the deschooled elementary and secondary education that the community education model represents. Learning spots are chosen on the basis of their suitability for learning activities particularly in terms of their ability to serve as premises and to accommodate the teaching of specific skills. Physical points in the village with this potential include artisans' workshops, building sites (for training masons and bricklayers), farm sites, river banks, crop nurseries, shrines, the market, the residence of the Chief and the Queen Mother, and meeting places.[15] Many of these are, in effect, scenes of occupational practice and sites for economically productive activities.

The nerve centre of this framework of learning spots is a "learning resources centre" (see Figure 10) which is converted from school buildings, the village civic centre, or community centre, common hall or even an individual's house donated for that purpose. One of the major functions of the centre is the co-ordination of the many diverse learning activities by assembling information from the spots for coherent appraisal of the input into the system of each area, and monitoring the individual's performance and

Figure 9

The Network of Village Education -
Learning Spots and The Learning Centre

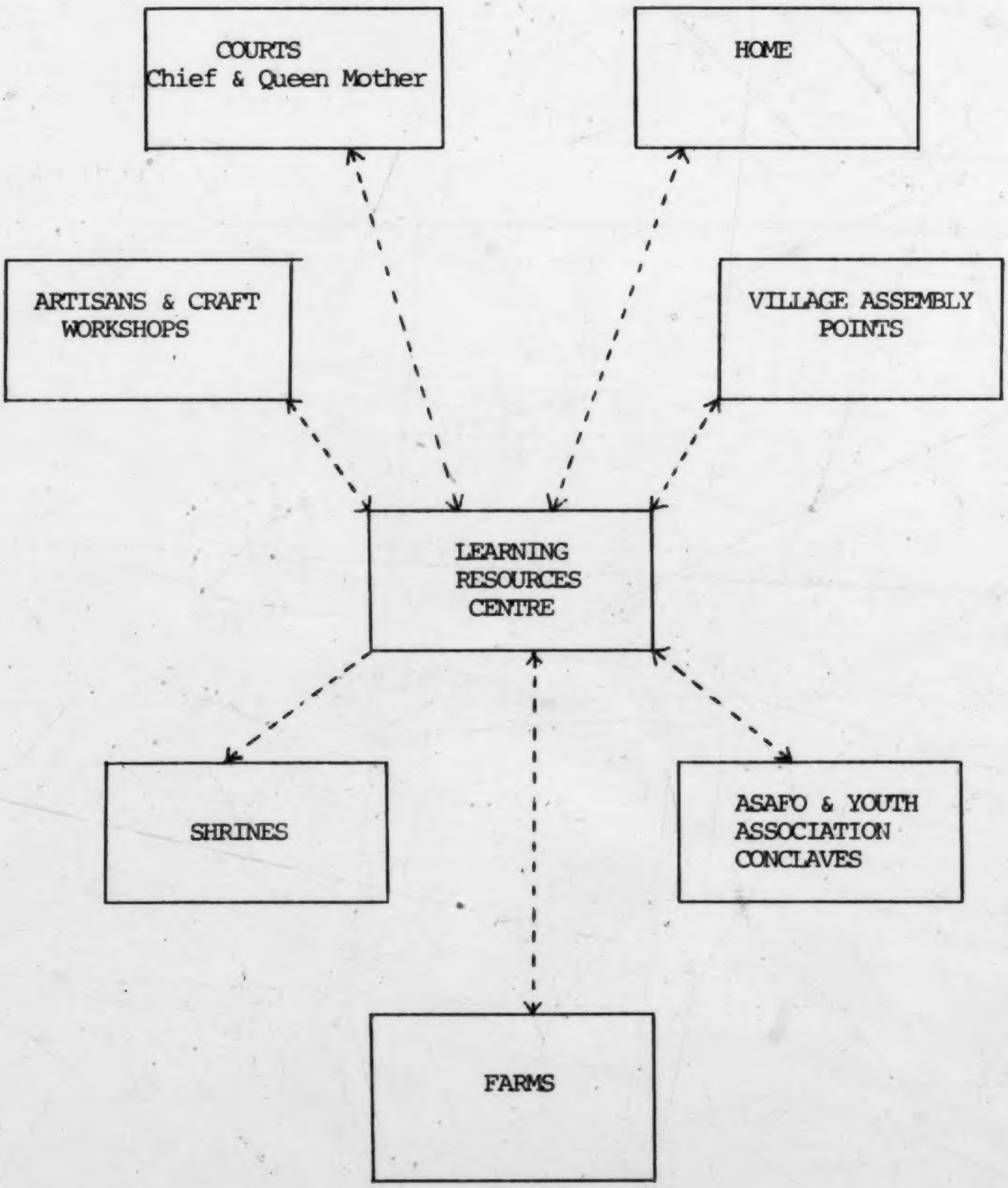
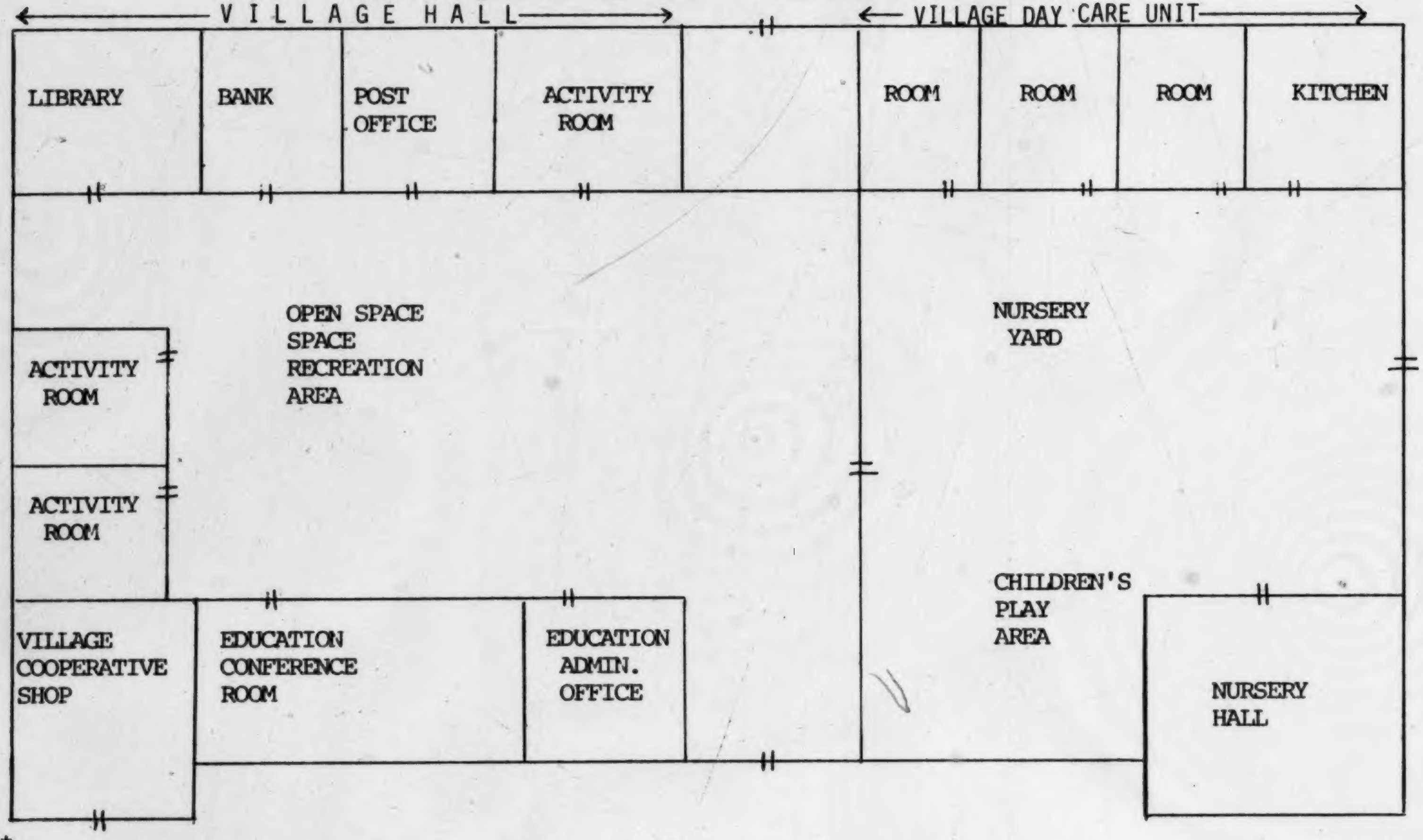

COURTS
Chief & Queen Mother
HOME
ARTISANS & CRAFT WORKSHOPS
VILLAGE ASSEMBLY POINTS
LEARNING RESOURCES CENTRE
SHRINES
ASAFO & YOUTH ASSOCIATION CONCLAVES
FARMS

Figure 10

The Village Learning Resources Centre: A Prototype*



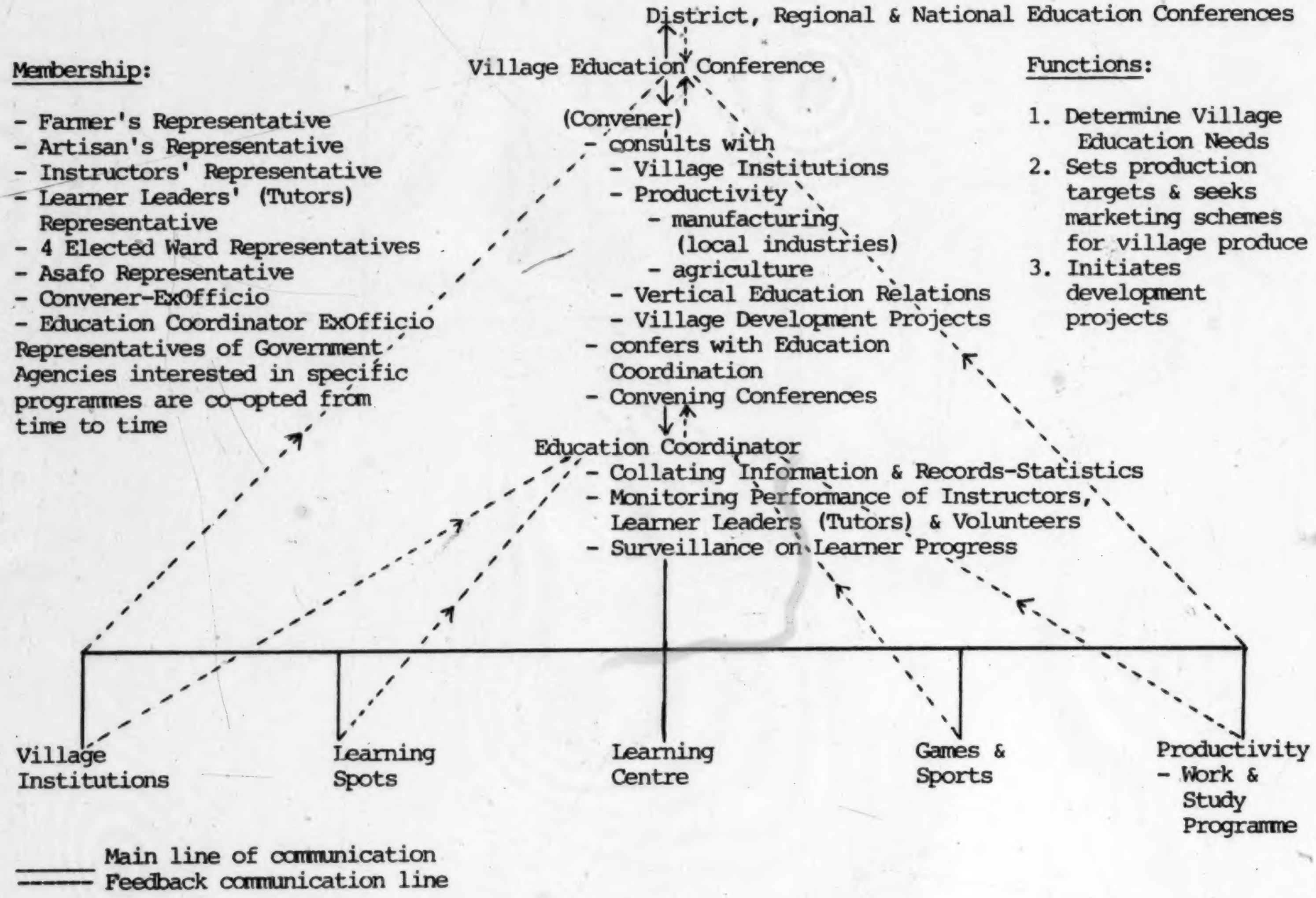
* Building Outline is Based on a Real Village Complex

progress in whatever activity he or she is engaged. In addition to these roles, it serves as a plant in itself by providing facilities for learning at Levels One and Two. Reading, writing and numeracy as well as other theoretical lessons are organized at the centre and must be furnished for that purpose. It is a storage for software learning tools like books, houses the library, and provides facilities for large meetings. It has a unit for day care and kindergarten activities. Space is also provided for the village co-operative bank, a shop and a post office.

Within this framework, village education is organized through, and administered by, a representative body formed by a cross-section of the village population called the Conference (see Figure 11). It is composed of elected ward representatives and representatives from groups like farmers, artisans, instructors, learner leaders[16] or tutors, and the district education conference. Its prime responsibility is to define, direct and resolve the educational needs (with a national content) as determined by the economic, social, political and cultural needs of the village and the nation. The Conference exercises authority over village community education and plans, decides and supervises all theoretical and production related learning activities. Other matters under its purview include raising and disbursing funds, including determining rewards for staff. It also has a teacher training function of preparing instructors and activity leaders and recruiting volunteers.

Figure 11

Village Community Education Organization and Administration

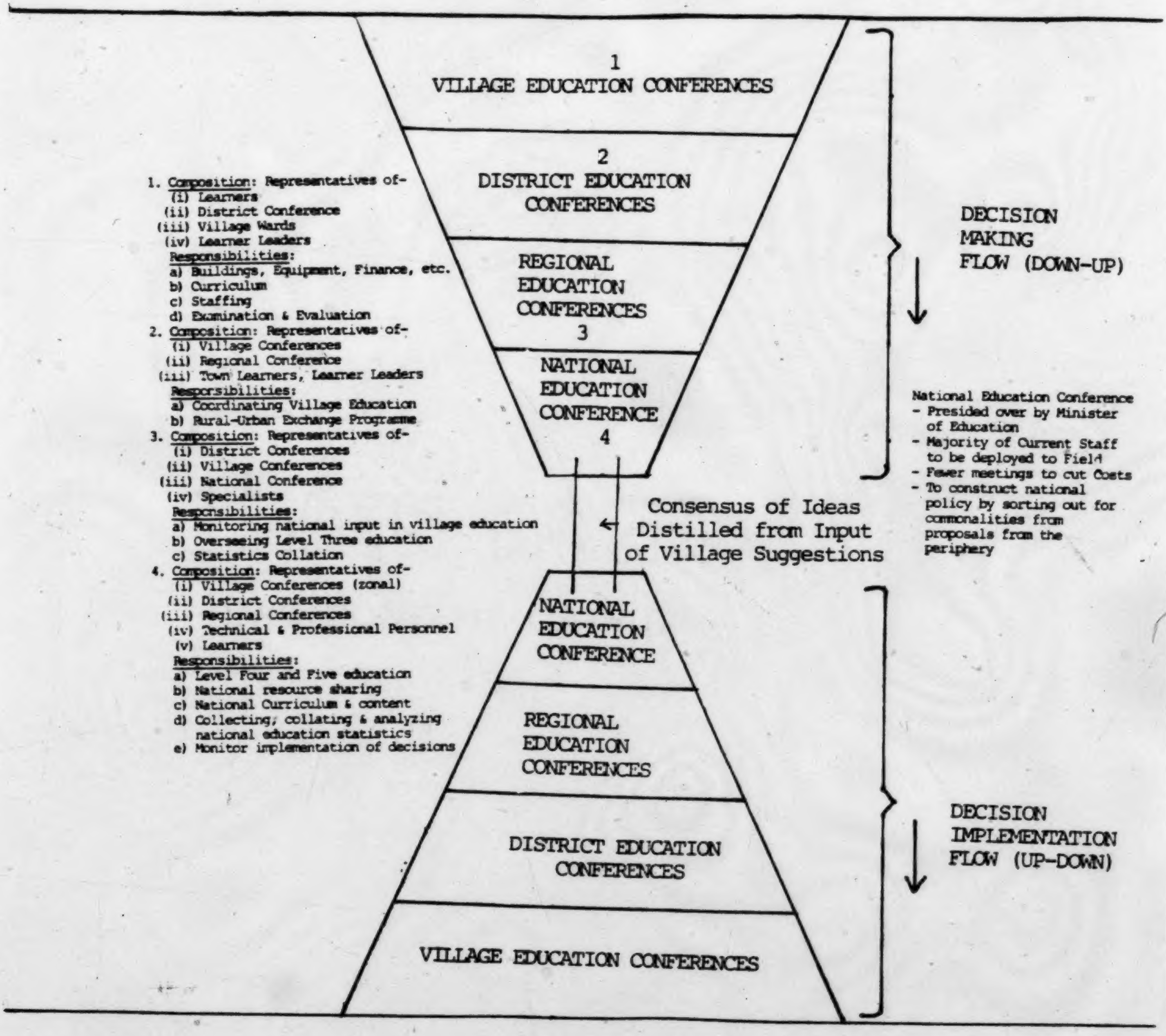

District, Regional & National Education Conferences
Village Education Conference
(Convener)
- consults with
- Village Institutions
- Productivity
- manufacturing (local industries)
- agriculture
- Vertical Education Relations
- Village Development Projects
- confers with Education Coordination
- Convening Conferences
Education Coordinator
- Collating Information & Records-Statistics
- Monitoring Performance of Instructors, Learner Leaders (Tutors) & Volunteers
- Surveillance on Learner Progress
Membership:
- Farmer's Representative
- Artisan's Representative
- Instructors' Representative
- Learner Leaders' (Tutors) Representative
- 4 Elected Ward Representatives
- Asafo Representative
- Convener-ExOfficio
- Education Coordinator ExOfficio
Representatives of Government Agencies interested in specific programmes are co-opted from time to time
Functions:
1. Determine Village Education Needs
2. Sets production targets & seeks marketing schemes for village produce
3. Initiates development projects
Village Institutions
Learning Spots
Learning Centre
Games & Sports
Productivity - Work & Study Programme
Main line of communication
Feedback communication line

Again, it is in charge of curriculum design and development as well as time and resources allocation to study groups. Supervision of the evaluation of learners' performance and recommending them for certification constitute its other function. In this way, villagers participate in their own education by exercising their democratic rights. This process of administration and organization carries through to the national level with similar conferences at the district, regional and national levels. The village Conference is not unlike the Kwamsisi committees.

The Conference chooses by appointment or election the Education Co-ordinator who takes custody of all facilities for learning, securing their maintenance, preparing learner quotas and their allocation to the various learning sectors, and co-ordinating the activities of instructors, learner leaders and activity leaders. He or she is assisted by a cohort of aides in the implementation of programmes and Conference decisions. In the co-ordinator's domain also is the organization of common community activities that fall outside the main learning process, like recreational activities, sports competitions, story telling or other mass village sessions. In addition to these duties, the co-ordinator oversees the library and media (traditional and modern) organization; and is co-opted to meetings of all village institutions: Chief-in-Council, Youth Association, Asafo Company and others. It is the co-ordinator's responsibility as well to seek out potential learning resources and resource persons. This arrangement ensures that the Co-ordinator and the Learning Resources Centre are abreast of all happenings and developments in the village.

Harmonization of village and national education policies, especially the process of decision making whereby the community's input becomes paramount, is a major objective of the inverted pyramid structure (see Figure 12) of the Conference system. It is argued that the structure is viable because it is founded on the assumption that economically self-sufficient micro social units like the village (or the Chinese commune) are necessary and desirable for a national macro system because organizing productivity and apportioning reward for the individual's efforts is at the grassroot level and thus guarantees a strong foundation for national economic growth. The structural processes make room for participation by parents, learners, children and village and national institutions. As a centrifugal pattern of communication flow (from the periphery to the centre) in organizing an integration of the community, education, and development, it corrects the present imbalance between the centre and the periphery as manifested in the monopoly of authority by the centre. Being the backbone of the nation's economy, rural agriculture stands to benefit from a dialogue between the rural community and national authorities which can attract attention to the need to relate education to local economic activities.

Figure 12
The Inverted Pyramid National Organizational Pattern of The Village Community Education-As-An-Enterprise Model


1
VILLAGE EDUCATION CONFERENCES
2
DISTRICT EDUCATION CONFERENCES
REGIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCES
3
NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE
4
DECISION MAKING FLOW (DOWN-UP)
Consensus of Ideas Distilled from Input of Village Suggestions
NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE
REGIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCES
DISTRICT EDUCATION CONFERENCES
VILLAGE EDUCATION CONFERENCES
DECISION IMPLEMENTATION FLOW (UP-DOWN)

1. Composition: Representatives of-
   - (i) Learners
   - (ii) District Conference
   - (iii) Village Wards
   - (iv) Learner Leaders

   Responsibilities:
   - a) Buildings, Equipment, Finance, etc.
   - b) Curriculum
   - c) Staffing
   - d) Examination & Evaluation
2. Composition: Representatives of-
   - (i) Village Conferences
   - (ii) Regional Conference
   - (iii) Town Learners, Learner Leaders

   Responsibilities:
   - a) Coordinating Village Education
   - b) Rural-Urban Exchange Programme
3. Composition: Representatives of-
   - (i) District Conferences
   - (ii) Village Conferences
   - (iii) National Conference
   - (iv) Specialists

   Responsibilities:
   - a) Monitoring national input in village education
   - b) Overseeing Level Three education
   - c) Statistics Collation
4. Composition: Representatives of-
   - (i) Village Conferences (zonal)
   - (ii) District Conferences
   - (iii) Regional Conferences
   - (iv) Technical & Professional Personnel
   - (v) Learners

   Responsibilities:
   - a) Level Four and Five education
   - b) National resource sharing
   - c) National Curriculum & content
   - d) Collecting, collating & analyzing national education statistics
   - e) Monitor implementation of decisions

National Education Conference
- Presided over by Minister of Education
- Majority of Current Staff to be deployed to Field
- Fewer meetings to cut Costs
- To construct national policy by sorting out for commonalities from proposals from the periphery

A two-way information flow between the Government and the village periphery on educational issues is the surest way to ensure that villagers are able to make input into areas like examinations, syllabuses, curriculum development and methods of delivery. In issues affecting pedagogy and the social relations of education, therefore, each side ought to be able to respond to the other's needs.

c) Curriculum

One of the major problems of Tanzanian community education, in the judgement of one of its exponents, M. Machoya, is the paradox that community schools, which he describes as "de-formalizing," have to adopt conventional patterns of structural and graded course content of a written curriculum.[17] An alternative of a down-to-earth nonformal curriculum, as an addendum to the formal written curriculum for village children, is offered by C. McLevy.[18] It touches on items like personal hygiene, animal care and general out-of-school activities geared towards improving the child's personality. The curriculum for the Ghanaian village community education-as-an-enterprise takes a cue from these observations and particularly the following quotation by Gandhi:

> In my scheme of education there can be no subject or study which cannot be correlated to craft or environment. A teacher who cannot correlate his lesson to craft or environment is useless to school.[19]

It is to be recognized that there is an urgent need to ensure that knowledge acquired in the community education process is applied to practical life. It must thus be ensured that, to complete the community education process, such knowledge facilitates its pari passu application to actual economic productivity and physical improvement in environmental living conditions. That is why the curriculum (as outlined in Figure 7) has the four main components of theory (of subjects or disciplines), practicals (experiments and workshops), real participation in village economic productivity and community service or voluntary labour (prescribed by the Okonjo Plan). The first has always constituted the open curriculum. The second is sometimes part of the curriculum. But the third and fourth have been considered as outside the orbit of the normal school curriculum or at best part of a hidden curriculum. In the proposed model, however, all four are conspicuous elements of the formal curriculum.

The model anticipates that the village community, through the Conference, will determine its own curricula. The general framework[20] of the community education curriculum as presented here, however, advocates both theoretical examination and practical application of all subjects. Learning is not expected to be only by rote or in the abstract but must, through association, be practised in real situations to accelerate assimilation, reinforce comprehension, and promote internalization. The practical benefits of all knowledge is of utmost importance. Counting lessons may be followed by mini-censuses of learners' (extended) families and local history lessons may incorporate the construction of geneological trees.

Without usurping the prerogative of the community to determine its curriculum, the thesis sets out certain general outlines that are common to all villages irrespective of their location or the composition of its population (as indicated in earlier chapters). Some of their common characteristics are that they are culturally homogenous, with an agriculturally based economy; and that they utilize figures, indulge in mensuration, and use a common language in their business and social transactions. Agriculture, craftwork, numeracy and mathematics, physical education and health, reading and writing, culture and science are thus all subjects in the curriculum.

Activities designed to inculcate skills and techniques for performing simple but invaluable tasks form the second dimension of the curriculum. Such assignments include documentation and statistics compilation; construction and repair of houses, roads, tools and household equipment; banking (upgrading the local susu[21]); plant, animal and mushroom cultures; and cleaning competitions. These are practical activities that complement the theoretical learning that the preceding subjects cater to.

The other aspect of the curriculum is productive work - involving learners in actual farming and manufacturing processes (of soap) - as real income activities. Time allocation for the study of subjects and methods of production must give equal emphasis to learning and work as part of the learning by doing strategy that community education advocates. The model does strive to facilitate a juxtaposition of learning and earning. In the same way as the Conference organizes learning placements, it is expected to organize productive work placements that make it possible for the learners to live normal lives as they study. The Government has expressed the dissatisfaction that under the present school system the youth in Ghana enter the labour force at an age far above that at which the youth with comparable education in other countries enter the labour market.[22] But the structure redeems the situation by fixing the working age at ten years or thereabouts. To strengthen this arrangement, work evaluation must carry as much weight as theoretical and practical activities in the evaluation process.

Village development projects predicated on communal labour, the age-old practice, is the final branch of the curriculum. Designed to infuse the qualities of interdependence, co-operation and sacrifice, it is to be accorded sufficient time in the calendar with enough incentives and sanctions to elicit universal patronage by the village community.

d) Evaluation and Standards

Teaching in the present schooling system is geared towards, and organized, to satisfy examinations. What the model seeks, however, is examinations as measuring instruments of what has been taught, learned, practised and practically applied in real situations. It is not just the learners' power to commit into memory passages or formulae, but their ability to apply the skills learned to make themselves useful to the community and to dedicate themselves to the cause of the community. They must also demonstrate how these skills contribute to their capacity to produce economically.

As long as the human propensity for competition exists, evaluation and standards are likely to persist. To attain any results that will be acceptable to human consumption patterns, therefore, there is the necessity for a yardstick to measure the rate and extent of absorption of knowledge one is exposed to. Under the present system, methods of assessment include end of session tests and cumulative assessment. These suit the theory dominated learning that is promoted now. The success of the community education-as-enterprise model, however, is contingent upon matching learners' expectations and aspirations with pragmatic evaluation methods that are based on the relevance and applicability of skills learned to their immediate environment. Tests may continue to be administered but they must stretch beyond theory to cover practical and productive activities; and in all cases the substance of examination questions and tests must have direct bearing on the village community. Production (of goods and services) targets must be scaled against which performances are to be judged and the standardization is to be worked out by the Conference. Contributions (innovative and otherwise) to village development projects must be rewarded as further incentive and reinforcement for creativity.

Transition points between two levels must be flexible enough to allow the individual to progress at his or her own pace without suffering any humiliation. A new perspective is necessary for the interpretation of failure which is presently denoted by repeaters and dropouts in the present system. Each individual must be evaluated on his or her own merit and permitted to advance with enough proven comprehension of problems and the capability to solve them. Everybody must have a try at everything. Streaming is to be encouraged only at Level Three where specialization starts to become important.

Upholding the principle of equality of access implies that coercion be expunged from the system. All forms of sponsored mobility which undermine achievement - hard work and genuine effort - are to be eliminated since the system rewards adequately each individual in accordance with production efforts and with less emphasis on general academic performance. A learner advances from year to year and not from class to class - a mechanism designed to reduce the effects of the social stigma arising currently from failing examinations and repeating classes and to pre-empt dropping out.

Subjectivity in grading academic aptitude is expected to be balanced with objectivity in assessing real economic production, the results of which are usually visible and indisputable. The learner's real income is projected to increase in proportion to the skills acquired since priority is given to practical production in terms of material rewards rather than cognitive thinking which is the hallmark of the diploma disease.[23] Diplomas are to be awarded but the criteria must depart from reliance on earning marks on the basis of academic skills and substitute them with equal weighting on socially useful labour (which, incidentally, also accrues economic benefits) and the general curriculum.

e) Methods of Delivery

Wilson (1963:20,27), in his discussion of the methodology of indigenous education, enumerated number games, rhymes, runes, rote learning and imitation as some of the means employed in that system to achieve the powers of memory and learning. (Busia 1964:25), on the same issue, ties methodology of delivery to religion and concludes that the superstition that dominates knowledge dissemination in the indigenous system discourages and undermines scientific thinking and analysis. To counter superstition, he advocates the teaching of science to encourage tested knowledge diffusion. The familiarity of indigenous methods, however, requires that ways and means be found to mesh them into modern delivery methods (if only to satisfy the dictum of learning beginning from the known to the unknown). In fact McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975:9) concede that indigenous methods like the arts of remembering and recalling are approaches that deserve incorporation into the modern system and do actually attribute some of the failures of the schooling system to its inability to absorb such techniques.[24]

This model of community education envisages a composite delivery machine built out of the indigenous and western systems compromising didactic lecture method, dialogue, and discussion while emphasizing the Socratic enquiry method. Practical training to encourage creativity, library search to encourage independent study, and research to develop data collection and analysis are important elements that deserve consideration too. Other worthy methods are participatory observation to monitor biological, ecological, and general scientific activities; research assignments to foster the need to find answers to simple queries on phenomena; and media campaigns and programmes to back up the other methods.

Media education strategies are known to have worked effectively among predominantly illiterate communities. It is doubtful whether the village can ever benefit from, let alone afford, such sophisticated and expensive media like the television or the satellite. But cheaply produced village newspapers, for example, are known to have contributed immensely to raising the literacy level in

Tanzania,[25] while a traditional folk medium, Laedza Batanani (a mobile drama group that performs from village to village carrying messages of development with specific themes), is believed to be instrumental in village education and development in Botswana.[26] Fiofori provides evidence of how communoraldiction or story telling may be used to diffuse education and innovation ideas.[27] Empirical evidence has also been established from studies in Ghana to confirm the educational effects of, and roles for the radio, the rural newspaper and local "concerts" (drama).[28] Media men recognize education (together with information and entertainment) as one of their three major concerns in a community. It should not be difficult, therefore, to solicit their co-operation in developing a hybrid multi-media programme from both indig enous and modern media. And since newspapers would benefit from an expanded literacy base, their involvement as a delivery system in village community education could be expected.

f) Medium of Instruction

It is imperative that the locally spoken and written language be made the language of instruction in village community education. This will ensure that skilled individuals like artisans, the elders and so on, who are non-English speaking but can instruct or best handle some learning activities, do not suffer any complexes in dealing with learners. Language, being a symbol of cultural identity (Roberts 1975:248), will restore the vital role it has to play in local cultural revival.[29] Because it is the main communication device for transmitting authentic cultural information, it is inseparable from the local culture on which this model of community education is formulated. Whenever costs allow, textbooks must be in the local language too.

Results from studies conducted in some developing countries indicate that children who learn to read and write first in the mother tongue do better in their studies than those instructed through English as a second language.[30] Om Shrivastava, for example, drew that conclusion from his study of some Indian villages.[31] And part of the success of countries like China, Japan and Korea may be attributed to the endurance of their indigenous languages. To ensure intra-national communication, understanding, and unity, learners must learn at least one language other than their mother tongue; and the international perspective would be taken care of by teaching English language as a subject from Level Two onwards. An indigenous lingua franca may develop from this practice after some years. One may add that many of the local languages have been committed to writing and some have their literatures developed to the university level.

g) Resources

The first step in the assessment of the village community's strength and preparedness for adopting the model is to unearth the rich human and material resources that abound in the village. Every village is guaranteed the presence of some elementary school graduates (Roberts 1975:250). They are potential learner leaders who, with little training, could assist with literacy lessons and other activities. Experienced farmers, craftsmen, artisans and the elderly are all resource persons who have enough knowledge in their fields to be able to impart skills to others.

By polling the resources at the disposal of Government departments, like the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, the Ministries of Rural Development, Agriculture and Works and all other agencies and institutions (both local and external) together, a lasting stock of manpower, hardware (furniture), software (books and stationery) and plant can be assembled as an infrastructure for programme development. Orientation and training programmes must help to enhance the quality of personnel that would operate the model.

Records indicate that financing village education is unlikely to run into difficulty with the villagers. In addition to supplying free labour, they are accustomed to special levies for specific projects. What needs to be developed to strengthen one village's finances and thus secure continuous growth in education and development activities is a policy that links financial and material contributions to representation in village decision making. This will require a mandatory imposition on Government (at the central, regional and district levels) to contribute resources in return for participation in the village's education and development affairs. The Conference ought to be able to mount its own independent fund raising activities. Earlier on, it was suggested that learners are to contribute to the costs of their education by working in the course of their studies.

The model also calls for radical changes in the training and supply of instructors and learner leaders or teachers. The current image of the "teacher-as-encyclopaedia" is to be discarded in favour of the instructor and learner leader approach whereby they will be regarded as temporary actors in the learning process and be given the opportunity to engage in other activities in the milieu for other sources of income. Literate parents ought to be able to guide their children through basic literacy in a kind of home school arrangement,[32] and literate children must be involved in adult basic literacy schemes as helpers of their adult parents, siblings and neighbours to acquire basic reading, writing, and numeracy skills at home. Meetings at learning spots are to resolve problems that arise out of home learning activities. The use of the local language becomes even more urgent under these circumstances.

Leadership in learning activities is, however, going to require specialization at some point, especially at the higher levels and workshops for mathematics, science, language or leadership in learning activities in other disciplines. Potential candidates are, therefore, to be developed in such a way that the leaders are adequately prepared and are not alienated from production in other sectors of the economy. It is also crucial that the second part of the Gandhi quotation above: "A teacher who cannot correlate his lesson to craft or environment is useless to school," be considered a dictum for those charged with the responsibility of preparing learner leaders and the learner leaders themselves. Teaching as a full-time job is to be discouraged, especially at Level One and Level Two.

The village community, thus, assumes control over establishing, building, equipping, staffing and running its own education with input by (and not intervention from) other levels of government - district, regional and national. They decide their priorities for education and development in their effort to contribute to overall national progress and advancement. And the community, by having control over its education, without prejudice to national concern and goals, reserves the right to categorize its virtues, morals, values, tastes, customs, traditions (culture) and facilitate their transmission from generation to generation and to achieve for itself stability, continuity, growth and development. Thus, villagers are not just participating in their education but controlling it "in the national interest."

Implementation

Educational reforms are usually difficult to implement. And the problems arising out of their implementation become even more formidable where drastic changes are warranted. The community education-as-enterprise model's feasibility rests on fundamental structural changes in the social, economic and political organization of the country in order to create the right atmosphere within which the village community can exercise authority over its affairs. The absence of these changes would only make the chances of the model's success dismal. The village is, however, still endowed with powerful remnants of its traditional culture; educational facilities of all kinds to be utilized; a promising agricultural potential (land and water); and a community willing to help itself (given its socio-economic characteristics) - an infrastructure upon which it can build. Some villages may, however, need to transform formal schools into the community education model.

In either case, one expects a transition from a school or no school situation to community education for community, regional and national development and growth. In the former case, the prevailing system will need to be phased out gradually to make way for the necessary economic, political, and social infrastructure to be established. A multi-stage implementation of the new programme is, therefore, favoured. For a smooth transition, then, a five-stage implementation plan is recommended. The scheme begins with dismantling of the village school and terminates with the re-education of "schooled" urbanites. Between these stages, plans for the deployment of urban-resident students to villages, the disestablishment of urban schools and the dissolution and total abolition of all elementary schools will be accompanied by restructuring of Levels Three and Four institutions and the institutionalization of Level Five education.

i. Phase One - Dissolving the Village School

Since the village is the centre-piece of the model's operationalization, this stage is considered the most crucial in the initiation of action to translate theory into practice. The village community education-as-enterprise shifts the centre of gravity of educational activity from the city centre to the village. Here also are the bulk of the masses who are the most deprived of the benefits of progressive education - the rural illiterates.

The initial transformation involves converting school blocks, classrooms and other public meeting places into the learning centre and learning spots. A mobilization of human resources ensues by identifying all skilled personnel in the village like herbalists, blacksmiths, farmers, literates, soap manufacturers, potters and others. Those interested are assigned learning hours after constituting the Conference. Before then, teachers acting as interim learner leaders are to accompany their pupils to sessions with the above identified instructors and also organize work for the older pupils at various locations from which they can earn some income. Hours spent in formal learning are to diminish as the programme proceeds to leave more time for productive work, communal labour and practical activities.

As soon as the Conference is fully constituted with the necessary powers and apparatus, it assumes full control of the process. It works out details of programmes - curriculum, timetable, evaluation procedures, and finance - and also maps out areas of production. With the co-operation of other village institutions, it draws a development plan, setting targets and priorities as well as works out the technicalities and intricacies of a communal labour system.

For an effective take-off, Government support at this stage must be total. It must readjust the wage structure by removing the differential between the rural and urban wage structure, introduce price incentives for agricultural produce and improve the marketing system. Its own national development strategy must espouse the centrifugal mode of development and must be prepared to freeze temporarily ongoing projects in the urban sectors in order to redirect funds to the rural areas to support the new system. Villagers have already established the ingenuity at and readiness to take their destiny into their own hands and develop their community in periods of rising incomes (Ewusi 1978:99). A committed Government support for the model's implementation is likely to encourage urban-rural migration even at this early stage.

ii. Phase Two - Deployment of Urban Students and Teachers to Villages

Phase One is a vital preparation for Phase Two. At this stage, it is recommended that urban school patrons (students and teachers) be dispersed to villages during the peak agricultural seasons of the year to assist in planting and harvesting of crops. Simultaneously, small communities of village prototypes are to be created in the cities and towns with the basic structural organization.

Level One and Two curricula ought to be operational in the villages and their urban equivalents at this juncture and the Regions are to begin preparations for the introduction of Level Three curricula and courses. Emphasis continues to be on productive work and learners are encouraged to indulge and revel in creative, innovative and inventive activities.

iii. Phase Three - Disestablishment of Urban Schools

A firmly entrenched community education in the first two phases is likely to lead to the fading of the idea of formal schools, as they are now perceived, in the minds of the people, because people will no longer have to equate schooling with prosperity or higher living standards. With schools no longer around the village to act as a lever for uprooting villagers to the city and with the city no longer exercising monopoly over prestigious and lucrative jobs, the individual will have to succumb to the new era of having to seek his or her fortunes either in the rural area, or from a rural perspective. As a result of these developments, the urban schools get dissolved at this point to allow the micro educational organization in the cities and towns to flourish.

Regions now establish Level Three education (post-secondary education in the new process). Practical skills are still very important in the curriculum as learners are prepared to assume middle level leadership positions like nursing, education, technical trades, and others. Dexterity, versatility, and the aptitude for repair and maintenance work are assumed to have been achieved by the time one reaches this Level. For the first time in the education process, there are programmes that bring cognitive learning into the limelight.

This is also a propitious moment for expanding the study of the English language, which is introduced as a medium of instruction, to encourage learners to cope with the increasing need to rely on textbooks printed in English.

The new strategy may begin by using both English and the local language simultaneously for instruction and moving gradually towards a more intensive utilization of the former.

iv. Phase Four - Abolition of Schooling

Schooling as a concept and as an educational strategy is to be presumed to be anachronistic at this stage, so that it ceases to exist at the elementary level - Levels One and Two. A verification process for assessing the new model ought to have gathered sufficient data to warrant the introduction of reforms to reinforce achievements and remedy weaknesses.

The new system takes root in Level Four education where the need for specialization, research and inventive skills and cognitive skills becomes more urgent. The rural-urban immersion and internment programme designed to encourage the internalization of rural values is permanently institutionalized as a requirement for graduation from the highest of formal education institutions. Both the curriculum and organized training programmes are given the kind of orientation that makes them most sensitive to rural problems. Research is based on rural needs, and specialization must intrinsically nurture a sense of rural urgency among the highest educated group like doctors, teachers, engineers and others.

Introduction and adoption of innovative ideas and technology are examined closely at this level. And again, it is here that the idea of the importation - of ideas, products or "expertise" is to be scrutinized at all levels of political organization. The Government works out quotas that are to be strictly adhered to, to control the inflow of these "commodities." Specializations are to be based on social needs; and an annual review of quotas should ensure that the right emphasis is always appropriately determined.

v. Phase Five - Urbanite Re-education Programmes

Strategies at this phase coincide with Level Five education of periodic orientation and workshop sessions which are always to be organized in rural settings and must bring together both rural and urban participants. Residents in the urban areas, especially the adults already in the work force, are likely to escape all anteceding transformation programmes up to this phase, unscathed. Civil servants, who are known for their constant opposition to far-reaching administrative and structural changes, need to be initiated and assimilated into the new system. And the absorption must come early enough to forestall their anticipated opposition to the reforms. From the outset, they are to be actively involved in the execution of programmes. Having themselves experienced the schooling process which has rewarded them with their positions, their belief and trust in the status quo is solid enough to motivate them to mount covert and overt resistance to any reform of the prevailing system. Their fears often arise from job security and a concern over possible decline in their social status and political influence which, in their view, they have fought so hard to attain.

The elitist values, beliefs, and attitudes which they share with their colleagues in the other arms of the state apparatus (army, police, politicians, academicians, and professional technocrats), and the business community, pose the greatest threat to the acceptance and implementation of the proposed model. It is here that Level Five education is utilized to streamline their perceptions by neutralizing their suspicions and antagonism by first winning and securing the villagers' confidence, so that, when the former are dispatched to the communities, the villagers will be able to prevail in their ideas over the strangers. Overseas trainees must be equally made to undergo the assimilation programme training of Level Five.

Justification for the Model

Bentsi-Enchill, in his lectures earlier cited, referred to the inability and unwillingness of Ghanaians to model modern institutions on the indigenous foundations of traditions and customs as being responsible for political instability and economic growth without development. He is confident, at the same time, that compulsory education is both affordable and attainable; and throws a challenge to "our modernizing society to develop methods and devices that will enable it (the nation) to meet its primary obligation to educate all its members to cope with the needs of the present" (p. 5). This model is an attempt to meet this challenge, by seeking a marriage between indigenous and modern institutions to achieve societal goals, educationally.

Guided by dramatized manifestations all over the continent of Africa of content and structures of (formal) education that are ill-adapted to the requirements of development, on the one hand, and to the aspirations of the individual on the other, an Organization of African Unity sponsored conference on education called for a new conception of primary school education.[33] The conference observed further that the conceptualization must aim at the renewal of educational structures to make primary school education reform not only part of a general development of education in which it is associated with post-primary agricultural and technical education but must incorporate adult education and literacy, rural development and teacher training. It was emphatic that education at that level must be integrated into general economic development and rural development in particular. It then cautioned that no reform of primary school education would be fully effective, and in particular keep the young people on the land, unless it is accompanied by a whole series of measures for improving living conditions in the countryside and making agriculture more profitable and enhancing its prestige.

On a later occasion, a Unesco sponsored conference on education in Africa conceptualized modern authentic African education as one designed and practised in a context of performance and continuity in which basic education can only be seen as the initial phase of a lifelong education common to all, and behaviour patterns which will make one the active agent of one's own future training and one's constant intellectual advancement.[34] A report by Henderson also advocates seeking alternative educational strategies that will reach growing numbers of educationally and socially underprivileged people.[35] Further, the World Bank recommends mobilization of local resources in the rural areas for optimum development results.[36]

On his part, President Nyerere of Tanzania raises a very pertinent argument that most of our pupils will never be doctors, engineers, teachers, economists or administrators; "so we should not determine the type of things taught in the primary schools by the things those professionals need to know."[37] Rather, according to the argument, "we should determine what is to be taught in the primary schools by that which the boy or girl ought to know" - that is, the skills he or she ought to acquire (by learning not necessarily through teaching), and the values he or she ought to internalize, if the individual is to be able to live a happy and fulfilling life in a predominantly rural society and contribute to the general improvement of life in that community. Those with the aptitude for further education will always emerge and they are not likely to suffer any handicaps by first learning about themselves and their immediate environment. President Nyerere also proposes that schools must become communities which practise the precept of self-reliance by combining school and work. Agbetiafa (1979) endorses this proposition with his reminiscences on indigenous African education which, to him, does not culminate in unemployment and entails neither educational wastage nor uprooting of the young in the village population.

All these views epitomize criticisms against a schooling world, in which the maladies aimed at by community education and community development - alienation, irrelevance, wastage and low productivity - are extant. They also reinforce the need for an integrated strategy of education that will guarantee universal access to, and opportunities for, education and productivity through the unity of education and work to achieve a satisfying life in the village community.

These are the thoughts that the model of community education-as-an-enterprise coagulates; except that it advances a step further beyond the implicit endorsement of formal school house teaching and learning in those thoughts and strategies. It does that by proposing the breakdown of the rigid socio-economic structures that thwart relevant and purposeful rural education and replacing them with flexible organizational patterns that permit fluidity in progress and guarantee universal accessibility.

The model is not simply a contemplation of ruralization of the content of current primary school education as a general way of relating education to the environment but envisages steps to be taken to push the expansion and improvement of educational facilities. Meanwhile, is to be provided at economic or inexpensive, cultural, human and material costs. It consists of educational programmes, supplemented by the necessary measures to create sufficiently attractive conditions of employment which aim at improved living conditions and economic and social employment patterns designed to accommodate, in the village, products of the village education system.

Integration

The model's conference approach to educational management grants wide opportunities for representation and participation in the educational and development process in the village. It creates avenues for institutions, local and external, different Government departments, and all disciplines to be integrated into one complex educational unit. The National Education Conference, the umbrella organizational body which replaces the Ministry of Education (see Figure 12) and which is chaired by the Government spokesman is no longer the monopoly of the bureaucratic civil service of technocrats far removed from villagers. The arrangement broadens the base for political, social, economic, cultural and other inputs into the system.

The idea of the Conference - an innovation in the normal decision making process of village (and national) education and development - is to develop a participation network of interested parties to assemble at a common forum with representatives including educationists, planners, and those responsible for development.[38] Integration also presupposes interdisciplinary study, intergovernmental action, and intercultural upbringing. The model prescribes increased co-operation among Government officials concerned with the subject, closer integration of education and the production sector, and a rigorous role for scientists in developing scientific and technical education programmes.[39] Theorists and practitioners are brought together and so are decision makers and field workers, thinkers and doers, pure and applied researchers, experts and novices, children and adults, the skilled and the unskilled, men and women - and a creation of a single arena for the interplay of all human activity in the village. And the greatest advantage of it all is the avoidance of a canker of conflicts, misunderstandings and hostilities[40] among the various interest groups, authorities and organizations; a situation that could impede the smooth working of the education process and prevent the achievement of badly needed results. The Conference would localize the conflicts on a smaller scale and depending on the participants, consensus is expected to occur.

Summary

This chapter set out to resolve the problem of inadequate educational opportunities for Ghana's rural young people (and deprived adults), the most seriously neglected groups among whom are pre-school age children, school age children not enrolled in school, and adolescents who have never been to school, or dropouts.[41] Of concern too is the miseducation of those enrolled in schools. It anticipates also that any scheme to cater to the education of village communities needs to embody strategies that can build scientific knowledge and inquiry on the indigenous cultural base; enable one to earn while learning; shift emphasis from education for consumption to education for production; and tie education directly to economic development, thus making employment training part of the educational process. It lays out a frame for a model that serves this purpose - a model that seeks praxis in the solution of community problems through education.

The model that is proposed for resolving the problem of lack of educational opportunities and miseducation is the village community education-as-enterprise which envisages a close relationship between education and development. Addressing itself to the necessities outlined above, it proposes education based on "we-ism," not "me-ism," a culture conscious populist education that centres on people and conceptualizes education in its broadest term by seeking the abolition of formal elementary education; that is, schooling.

Despite the model's down-to-earth approach to community education as a strategy for community development, it is felt that factors like conservatism, the unwillingness of government officials to surrender authority to the villages and effect the much needed socio-economic structural changes upon which the success of the model depends, are likely to obstruct the model's implementation. The next chapter debates this contentious subject and also points to positive signs that continue to emerge on the national scene in recent times and how they signal optimism that the model will gain acceptance and adoption.

References

1. There is a kind of dual social and political system in the exercise of authority. One is traditional (to which reference is being made here) with mainly ascriptive offices held by Chiefs; and the other is the modern political system established by colonialism with bureaucracies, and elective or appointive offices. At the village grassroot level, traditional authority is still potent though matters like tax collection are controlled by the local area of the (modern) national government.

2. In the sense that it is responsible for its own welfare including the maintenance of peace and order. Through arbitration and a jury-type trial system, minor criminal and civil (customary) misunderstandings, such as intra-family quarrels, land disputes, and others are settled at this level.

3. Literally translated, it means work by all members of the community. Together with *nnoboa* (reciprocal labour), they represent co-operation that already exists among the members of the community.

4. Many have been converted into, or replaced by People's Defence Committees appointed by the military government that assumed power since 1982. They are not representatives of the community but local surrogates of the central government.

5. From a correspondent's account in "Still Small is Beautiful." *West Africa*, No. 3404, 1 November 1982, pp. 2816-2817.

6. *Dipo* is an initiation ceremony for girls among the Krobo people of Ghana. See McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975), p. 3 and Archbishop Kwasi Sarppong's *Ghana in Retrospect* for an in-depth discussion of it.

7. *Bragoro* is a series of rites including the confinement performed on a girl experiencing her first menstruation. It is mainly an education activity during which older women around her prepare her for married life and the roles of wife, mother and matured woman.

8. Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill. *Institutional Challenges of Our time*. Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1971, p. 13.

9. Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill: ibid. p. 13.

10. The hero of these stories is Kwaku Ananse who is strongly projected as a cunning, articulate character who converts every negative situation that confronts him into that of a positive winning one.

11. Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill: ibid. p. 5.

12. Basic education or literacy classes may also be known as "night school," "mass education," or "adult education."

13. The model prescribes in situ learning at actual business locations like on farms, at carpentry shops, etc. Lessons are expected to take place at these locations to be known as learning spots.

14. The current Government approach to encouraging University students to offer voluntary services in the rural area. Under the plan, students are required to work in rural communities for a period of time during their University education.

15. Notable among these places are the Nkwankwaanuase (usually a big tree in the village which provides shade during the hot parts of the day and where people assemble to chat and play - something like a leisure spot - to while away the time); there is also the Nsadwase (literally translated as market for wine) where people meet to sip the local palm wine and discuss village issues in the process.

16. The nearest to the role of teachers in the new system. They include activity leaders who organize less formal activities like story telling, forums and debates.

17. See M. Machoya, "Curriculum for Community Schools - A Tanzanian Experience " in Unicef, Eastern Africa Regional Office. Community Schools: Report, Recommendations and Papers of a Seminar Held in the United Republic of Tanzania, 22-29 August 1980. Nairobi: 1980, pp. 76-79.

18. Quoted as an appendix to Chapter 3 of Paul Fordham. Participation Learning and Change: Commonwealth Approaches to Non-Formal Education. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1980, pp. 103-110.

19. As quoted by S. G. Weeks. Community School in Africa: is There a Lesson for Papua New Guinea? National Capital District: University of Paua New Guinea, 1976, p. 2.

20. The implication of the framework presented by the thesis is that details are to be worked out in the localities.

21. Susu is a practice in which a group of people contribute a fixed amount of money into a lump sum which is collected periodically by one of the contributors. The turns continue until each member collects his or her share. The cycle then begins all over.

22. Ghana. Office of the Planning Commission. Seven-Year Plan for National Construction and Development 1963/64 - 1969/70. Accra, 1963.

23. R. Dore. The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification, and Development. London: Allen and Unwin, 1976.

24. Others who share this view include J. A. Majasan who believes that "there is ample room for manoeuvre in assimilating some of the techniques of traditional (indigenous) education into modern school practice with the willingness of the teachers and the co-operation of the students" - a view expressed in his article "Traditional Education and its Possible Contribution to Modern Educational Techniques." West African Journal of Education Vol. xix No. 3, October 1975, pp. 423-434.

25. Keith K. Kanyogonya, ibid.

26. See reports by Ross Kidd and Hon. K. P. Morake on pages 12-13 of World Education Reports. No. 21, March 1980.

27. Ferdinand O. Fiofori. "Traditional Media, Modern Messages: A Nigerian Study." Rural Africana No. 27, Spring 1975, pp. 43-52.

28. These studies include those by Neff Smart. "The Densu Times - A Self-Made Literacy." Development Communication Report, January 1978, pp. 1 and 2; and that by K. N. Bame, "Comic Plays in Ghana: An Indigenous Art Form for Rural Social Change." Rural Africana No. 27, Spring 1975, pp. 25-42.

29. The incumbent Minister of Education, Mr. V. C. Dadson, recently warned that the neglect of writing Ghanaian languages threatens the nation's cultural identity, which he thinks, cannot be rescued from total oblivion without these languages, "Ghana: Cultural Education." West Africa No. 3464, 9 January 1984, p. 92.

30. Clemens Runawery and Sheldon Weeks claim further that when children are introduced to education and its

requirements in their mother tongue they are more easily socialized into the formal education system. See their work Towards and Enga Education Strategy: Education and Rural Development in Enga. National Capital District: University of Papua New Guinea, 1980, p. 8.

31. Om Shrivastava, "What Language for Literacy?" Development Communication Report, No. 30, April 1980, pp. 7 and 11.

32. The home school idea appears to be catching on with some parents in North America who complain that schools are lacking in personal communication between teacher and pupil.

33. Organization of African Unity. Conference on Education and Scientific Technical Training in Relation to Development in Africa, Nairobi, 16-27 July 1968: Final Report. Paris: Unesco, 1968, pp. 11-12 and 30.

34. Unesco. Education in Africa in the Light of the Lagos Conference (1976). Paris: 1977, pp. 49-50.

35. A consensus reached at a seminar on population and education. For a summary report on the proceedings see W. Henderson. "Review Session and Final Report." The Oguaa Educator Vol. 6 No. 2, April 1976, pp. 9-16.

36. World Bank. Education Sector Policy Paper 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: 1980, p. 26.

37. Julius K. Nyerere. Education and Self-Reliance. Dar-es-Salaam: Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1967, p. 18.

38. Organization of African Unity: ibid. p. 30.

39. Organization of African Unity: op. cit. p. 11.

40. V. L. Griffiths contends that relationships between teachers and other educational staff and development officers and the general public can stall changes if there is misunderstanding and hostility in his The Problems of Rural Education. Paris: Unesco, 1968, p. 31.

41. Philip H. Coombs. New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth. Washington: ICED, 1973, p. 57.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS AND THE FUTURE

To conclude the discussions and arguments advanced in this thesis, this chapter examines the strengths and weaknesses of the village community education-as-an-enterprise model that it proposes. In the course of the analysis, this chapter will also consider the obstacles to the model's implementation that exist within the present wider social order (of a hegemony exercised by the centre over the periphery) and concurrently examine recent political developments in the country that appear to suggest a movement towards a populist approach to national decision making and problem solving - an indication of a chance for the model's experimentation.

The argument advanced in this thesis is that the village school, wherever it exists in its present form, contributes little to the problem solving ability of the village community, though there is the necessity for the village to derive such benefits from its investment in education. For example, the desire of villagers to improve their living conditions, either by way of increased personal incomes or by providing themselves with social amenities, is unlikely to be satisfied by schooling because of the incongruencies between the schooling product and community needs. The school is considered dysfunctional to village community development. Therefore, its abolition is recommended in favour of the community education-as-an-enterprise model which will integrate education and community and ensure that skills imparted to learners in the education process are directly linked to community development efforts.

It is recognized that the model is not without its own problems and that the proposal raises a number of questions that need to be addressed by future research on the topic.

Some aspects of the discussions in the previous chapters, especially Chapter Five, advance and support the notion of education for liberation and development through the articulation of the group dynamics of intra- and extra-village individual and institutional communication and interaction. The notion of a culture-based and community-centred approach to education as a catalyst for development, which is being propounded, seems innovative, but there is actually little in the model's overall substance that is without precedence. Indeed, "hypermarkets of corporate life,"[1] much of Ghanaian indigenous education, the Chinese commune system, and the Soviet kolhoz or settlement farms, have all been identified as potential elements of community education as a village or small community enterprise. Based on the idea of the pedagogy of "villagism" - instilling the simple qualities of life - values, attitudes and mores of the village into the generality of the nation's population - the new model highlights village economic activity (basically agriculture) as the cornerstone of national development. Nonetheless, the model's rejection of schooling, as orchestrated through the phenomenology of the classroom, still distinguishes it from others. Ironically, it is this distinction that is most likely to create problems for prospective exponents or protagonists. But viewed from a broader national perspective, the model is not without its prospects too and the whole project, indeed, raises a number of questions for which future research on the topic may need to find answers.

Problems

Potentially formidable problems which are likely to threaten to impede the model's acceptance, adoption or implementation include: the continuing conservative conceptualization of education by the nation's educationists; the vested, entrenched and parochial interests of professionals like teachers and the civil service bureaucracy; the obvious preference of the elite for a route of modernization through schooling rather than the method of conscientization as a strategy of integrating education and development; and the villagers' acceptance and belief in the school as a lever for social prestige and occupational mobility.[2]

By advocating the abolition of schools and schooling, the model deviates from what is considered normal and challenges the mainstream educational paradigm, a challenge that will be met with stiff opposition. All along, schooling as a subset of the state apparatus has been rivalling the community in the socialization process in an unfair and unequal competition. And relying on the patronage it enjoys from the urban-based parasitic socio-economic and political institutions, it has always managed to dominate the socialization process and thus service continuously the maintenance of the elitist privileges that have been institutionalized in incomes, occupations, and distribution of social amenities. To attempt to restructure the imbalance (as indeed the model is wont to do) will certainly incur the wrath of conservative thinkers who are constantly wary of any tendencies that may result in social disequilibrium.

There is the likelihood too that, from the outset, both teachers and civil servants will consider their positions threatened by the model. The power and propensity of civil servants to undermine, stall and neutralize educational reforms was demonstrated in 1973 after a protracted struggle by classroom teachers, under the umbrella of the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), to wrench the control over pre-university schooling from the influence of civil servants. The then Government had agreed in principle to establish a Ghana Teaching Service to be administered by professional teachers. But then, within weeks of its inauguration, the powerful civil service machinery had managed to twist the arm of the military government to emerge finally with a Ghana Education Service in which the staff of the Ministry of Education were allowed to transfer their positions to the new body. Ultimately, the teachers continued to be bossed by these administrators with the result that the Ghana Education Service still parades the outfit and red tape that characterizes the civil service.[3] But unlike these events that contributed to the antagonistic posture of teachers and civil servants, the two are likely to team together this time with other elite groups, with the teachers in the vanguard role, to protest the new model and retain their sacrosanct monopoly over knowledge and its dissemination.[4] The model seems too radical for neo-colonialist pawns, organizations and institutions that still evaluate post-independence policies in terms of colonial educational practice.[5]

Gerontocracy and similar practices of equating age to knowledge and wisdom that characterize the village community can jeopardize the good intentions of the model. The unchallenged wisdom of the elders in intuition, authority and superstition as sources of knowledge can frustrate inter-age learning whereby literate children would help adult illiterates with their basic learning - reading, writing and numeracy - and undermine the home as a learning spot. In fact, McKinnon is skeptical about the adult teaching the child.[6] He believes young people owe adults only such respect as the adults deserve and that adults need to remember not to confuse twenty years' experience with one year's experience twenty times. Nonetheless, there are occasions when adult-child relationships rise beyond an order-obedience interaction in which the child is required to accept whatever emanates from a senior member of the community. On those occasions, the child is free to discuss various problems and to seek explanations he needs in order to steer clear of the mistakes that would tend to reduce the confidence that the adults place in him.[7] Thus, it is possible to manipulate the communication pattern between elders and the young positively to achieve the dialogical objective of the model.

Closely related to the practice of old age being synonymous with wisdom is the political structure of the village which through customs, traditions, and mores that regulate children's behaviour, preclude children from the decision making process. Though all adults and teenagers are enfranchised within the indigenous political system and subsequently allowed to express their views over topical issues, due to the tradition of holding on tenaciously to beliefs passed on from elders to the youth, children are forced into being gullible and suggestible. And this can be inimical to the inculcation of critical and creative thinking among the young ones. But since learning situations, in general, exhibit critical and creative properties, it is possible to foster these qualities through some adjustments and modifications of programmes offered under the model.

The model has some traits of xenophobism. Its concentration on local needs and aspirations creates the picture at the national macro level of fragmented geo-political autonomous local units akin to the ancient Greek polities. Critics of the model are likely to view that kind of balkanization, in case it develops, as incapable of generating national solidarity, and also as a threat to national unity and cohesion. Any such development can, however, be avoided by strengthening and adhering to the built-in controls against extreme localization in the model as manifested in the national purview of the curriculum content and the guarantee of input from the district, regional, and national representation on the Conference, which is the highest decision making organ in the model.

The greatest challenge to the model, however, is the socio-economic and political structures of the nation. One of the major reasons for the failure of the present education system to engender development in the village is the influence exerted on it by national politics and the urban-oriented economy. Basic structural reforms are, thus, a sine qua non for a successful implementation of the model. Education as a social institution responds to stronger forces originating from the economic and political institutions in the country and, unless these are radicalized so that making educational organization achieve congruency with them would encourage rural mobilization for development, the model is unlikely to survive, let alone achieve any positive results in the form of change in values and attitudes among the citizenship of the nation.

Prospects

Recent political developments in Ghana, however, indicate that the social, political and economic structures of the country are likely to undergo some far-reaching transformation, a situation that is likely to favour the introduction of the village community education for community development model. There are symptoms that the Government intends to use state power to overhaul its current elitist apparatuses and replace them with mass-based structures. It has expressed interest in involving formal educational institutions, in the interim, in productive work and socially useful labour.[8] Government policy regarding rural development is also shifting away from the interventionist approach towards greater involvement of the local communities in the planning and execution of development projects.

A National Mobilization Programme initiated by the Government in 1983 is designed to "mobilize the human and material resources for national development" and to help speed up the processes of structural transformation of the state. The body is already implementing a scheme for the redeployment of the unemployed and those declared redundant in the labour market into agriculture in the villages.[9]

As part of its programme of "education for national development" the Government has come up with the Okonjo Plan "which integrates community service with academic work" for university students.[10] Under the plan, students are to be sent to work with village communities in such activities as evacuation of harvested cocoa and other crops locked up in inaccessible villages (because of collapsed bridges or bad feeder roads), or assisting farmers in clearing their fields for planting or harvesting their crops. Further afoot are plans to restructure and revolutionize the present schooling system, plans which are to be drawn up on the recommendations of a national Education Commission which has just been constituted. The Commission is to collate ideas on revamping the education system in such a way that it will be directly linked to development through public hearings.

The Government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has also invited proposals for changes in the nation's educational system "covering all various aspects of education from kindergarten through first and second cycles to university with particular emphasis on the content, structure and overall efficiency of the system as a tool for national development."[12] These views, in addition to being resources on which the Education Commission can tap, are in the immediate future to form a basis for the reorganization of the universities which have been closed for almost a year now for being "elitist." The Government's sincerity is demonstrated in its invitation to renowned educationists like Paulo Freire (whose invitation was reported in the Ghana News, Vol. 13, No. 1, January 1984), to participate in the work of the Commission.

Certain actions of the Government do reflect its preference for populist and community oriented education that integrates school and work. In August last year, it dispatched some 600 Ghanaian children, between the ages of 13 and 16, to the Isle of Youth in Cuba to participate in the "Cuban Government educational programmes for the benefit of countries struggling for political, cultural and economic emancipation."[13] Presumably, it is considering structuring the community secondary schools it contemplates establishing on the Cuban model which makes the schools economic production units in themselves. Pronouncements by members of the Government on other education related issues like deprivation of primary schools, the use of local languages in schools and the need for libraries,[14] all do further reflect a desire to expand educational opportunities, create more educational resources, and make education more functional for the immediate community.

The Government appears to realize education's capacity to lead man to liberate himself from the shackles imposed by his environment.[15] But at the same time it seems to recognize education's inability to effect changes in the community independent of the political and economic institutions. This accounts for the changes outlined above being pursued as pari passu changes planned for other state apparatuses.[16]

A seven-member Public Administration Restructuring and Decentralization Implementation Committee (PARDIC) has just been inaugurated to "carry through the process of restructuring and decentralization at the regional, district, town, village and area levels."[17] From December 1985, by which time the process is expected to have been completed, the Ministry of Local Government will be transformed into a secretariat to service interministerial councils soon to be formed. All Ministries will be decentralized except Defence, Foreign and Internal Affairs. The last two are to have some of their functions decentralized. Elections of People's Congresses are slated for this year.[18] The elections are to be at three levels of conferences and congresses and are to be related to the establishment of local councils starting with village and area councils, and then on to district and regional councils.

These changes bear close resemblance to the centrifugal mode of the organization of education proposed by the village community education-as-an-enterprise model. They have the potential of laying down the basic structures for the mass-oriented less formalized education that the model proposes. The nature of the organization, curriculum, and preparation of the principal actors in the execution of the proposals of the model require changes of this magnitude at the macro level for the micro village community to respond to. And signs of these changes taking place are signs that pave the way for discussion of the model and its introduction as the educational model that mostly serves the purpose of the new structures.

Many of these structural reforms are, however, still substantially only declared intentions or plans. And given the country's volatile and unstable history, the Government may not even live long enough to push the reforms through. Further, assuming that the PNDC Government stays long enough to implement the reforms, its version of decentralization as outlined connotes limited devolution and delegation of administrative power. It does not appear to be backed up with economic and decision making power and could end up creating a body of local representatives who echo the voice from the centre. One is unsure about the amount of input into the national fiscal and economic policy shaping that will originate from villagers.[19] The Government has also directed its Secretaries (Ministers) to spend entire days in rural areas so they might solve rural problems more promptly.

The fact, however, remains that both Government and villagers accept the school, in principle, as an important vehicle for education. This position contradicts the model's anti-school posture. Yet the Government initiatives outlined above demonstrate some form of consciousness and awareness that there is an important role for education in village development. This suggests a political climate that is conducive to debate, a situation that can lead to translating rhetoric into action. And in all that, one can find a basis for the likely acceptance of the new model by Government and people.

One basic condition the Government needs to fulfill to encourage villagers to play a greater role in their own affairs is to correct the income imbalance between the village farmer and the city worker to create confidence in the village economy. Economic conditions in the village can be improved by raising personal incomes in the village to the level of the minimum wage in the city and, perhaps even a little above, as an incentive for increased agricultural production in the village to support its own development. One way to do that is to pay prices commensurate with the world price level for village agricultural products like cocoa, coffee and others. Food crop prices must be improved too. Ewusi (1978:99) has observed that the history of rural Ghana is full of examples of rising rural incomes being translated into community improvement and villagers providing themselves with social amenities like health posts, school blocks, community centres, water supply, feeder roads and electricity. He cites rising cocoa incomes in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions as obvious success stories that can be told. The village community education-as-an-enterprise model being proposed requires economic structures like rising incomes to make the village a self-supporting unit for it to be successfully practised.

What this thesis has argued is that a cultural infrastructure, comprising indigenous political, economic and social institutions, is indispensable for any sound education that will have the capacity of awakening a developing country like Ghana from the doldrums of under-development and foster its potential to survive and prosper by building on its culture, technology, and human and natural resources. The village, being the scene of the most profound indigenous cultural unity, is where the new approach is to begin by introducing an education system that integrates learning and community in such a way that skills taught will have direct bearing on the development of the community. The village community education-as-an-enterprise model is seen as a necessary tool for the development of the infrastructure needed for village education and development. It is a challenge to the mere conversion of schools into production units by calling for the dissolution of schools and advocating villages as a combination of education and production units. The message it conveys is simple: community education must ensure that education is an integral part of the community's socialization process and not an island institution, called school, which has been created to rival the community's socialization process and compete with extra-school institutions.

With technological efficiency outpacing moral issues so that a lag is created that seems to be breeding social problems like unemployment, crime and the like, the attack on schooling is likely to escalate in the industrialized societies. There is the feeling among educators and educationists that the whole field of education and the whole question of the teaching profession require urgent appraisal.[20] Maybe schools are moribund and not meeting the challenges of political and economic socialization in those societies any longer. Be that as it may, it will be sad for a developing country like Ghana to wait for the industrialized countries to abolish the school before, in the usual way, it follows suit. That will be a belated action. Ghana faltered initially by mistaking schooling and academic instruction for education because Europe understood it to be so.[21] Perhaps the way out is an immediate review of schools and schooling with the view to abolishing them.

The idea of training people for white-collar jobs, as encouraged by schooling, is consumption oriented. Training for blue-collar and especially brown-collar agricultural jobs is production oriented. The new model of education that purports to replace schooling has opted for the latter. The model's greatest quality is its hypersensitivity to the needs, aspirations, and attributes of the village people. By addressing relevant issues pertaining to these, it will not only be assisting individuals to increase both their income and the social value of their incomes but will also be providing avenues for common and indigenous welfare programmes for the community. The ripple effect will be a healthy grassroot national development programme that will yield maximum results from minimum inputs in terms of costs.

The Unanswered Questions - Further Research

Meanwhile, further research and inquiries must continue to seek answers to the several questions that arise out of this thesis. Empirical verification to evaluate the many untested statements will provide evidence that will not only validate some of the many "obvious" assumptions and propositions in the thesis but will also lend the suggested model the kind of credibility needed for its acceptance and adoption. The issues that need to be investigated include:

1. The extent to which village communities are change resistant or change conscious.
2. An evaluation of the indigenous input into current education in the village, as opposed to the school's input, and their impact on the individual villager's survival abilities within the community and the environment.
3. The relationships between dropout rates, school achievement, and productivity in the village.
4. The current strengths and viability of indigenous political, social, economic and cultural institutions in their competition for influence in the village with the exogenous modern institutions.
5. Parents' expectations of their children's educational and economic achievement (and the degree of influence of their perception of

the school as a determining factor) as a deteriminant of their perception of formal education.

6. A possible pilot project to test the applicability of the village community education-as-an-enterprise model.

There are many other research areas with relevance to the topic discussed here and answers to them can equally stand to refute or buttress the theoretical basis for this model. Further research on the topic is, indeed, a challenge to both Ghanaian and African educationists and educators, and even those of other developing countries as part of their responsibility to initiate the kind of education that will eschew waste and propel national development - the type of education that is relevant to the local culture, society, economy, politics and that will enhance village lifestyle and living conditions.

References

1. An expression used by Fletcher to represent commercialization of community education. It was a model of community education that was practised in some schools in Britain. See Colin Fletcher, "Developments in Community Education: A Current Account," in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson (eds.) *Issues in Community Education*. Barcombe: The Falmer Press, 1980, pp. 5-10.

2. As alleged by A. R. Thompson. *Education and Development in Africa*. London: Macmillan, 1981, who feels that one of the main obstacles to contemporary educational adaptation is that in the eyes of clientele of the schools, far from being failures, the schools have been notably successful.

3. For an account of the struggle, see H. O. A. McWilliam and M. A. Kwamena-Poh. *The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline*. London: Longman, 1975, pp. 134-135.

4. Teachers consider themselves, generally, as the sacrosanct custodians, owners and sellers of knowledge as argued by Ivan Ilich in his discussion on the phenomenology of the school. He asserts that they assume the roles of the teacher-as-custodian, the teacher-as-moralist, and the teacher-as-therapist. *Deschooling Society*. New York: Harrow Books, 1971, p. 45.

5. For example, McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, ibid., pp. 133-134 draw parallels between the 1975 structure of education and Governor Guggisberg's 1919-1920 proposals.

6. He contends that half the eighteen-year-olds have more ability than half the adults twice their age. Frank McKinnon. *Relevance and Responsibility in Education*. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1968, p. 35.

7. An observation made by Komla Agbetiafa in his article, "Out-of-School Education" in Gaston Mialaret (ed.). *The Child's Right to Education*. Paris: Unesco, 1979, p. 200.

8. In fact Newton Amedofu reported in October, 1982, that the new Government's "Education for National Development" plan envisaged the establishment of "community secondary schools" to involve students in productive labour. See the article, "New Frontier of

Hope." West Africa, No. 3403, 25 October, 1982, pp. 2765-6.

9. As reported in the West Africa, No. 3440, 18 July, 1983, p. 1692.

10. Though a bone of contention between elitist students and the Government, the programme is known to have had some limited degree of success already as reported in the article, "Roots of Student Protest." West Africa, No. 3434, 6 June, 1983, p. 1344.

11. Find the announcement to that effect and its membership in the report, "Education Commission." West Africa No. 3467, 30 January, 1984, p. 249.

12. Reported by Ghana News, Vol. 12, No. 9, September 1983, p. 9 under the headline, "Views on Varsities."

13. Ghana News: ibid. p. 3. See headline, "240 Pupils to train in Cuba."

14. Some of these pronouncements include those by the Secretary (Minister) for Education, Mr. V. C. Dadson who says, "If Ghanaians are to rescue their cultural identity from total oblivion, then writing Ghanaian languages should be encouraged." He has also suggested that "libraries co-ordinate their activities with other organizations concerned with literacy matters, to ensure that the appropriate literature is provided during the mass literacy project that the government will introduce." Both statements are quoted in "Ghana: Cultural Education." West Africa, No. 3464, 9 January 1984, p. 92. Mr. Kwamena Ahwoi, a member of the Government announced the "Government's intention to abolish private preparatory schools as soon as possible to give equal educational opportunity to children of both rich and poor." West Africa No. 3458, 21 November 1983, p. 2707.

15. The Head of State, Jerry John Rawlings acknowledged in 1982 that: "Ghanaians have become victims to their environment instead of controlling it." See West Africa No. 3401, 11 October, 1982, p. 2677.

16. Edward D. Hollander's observation in 1962 that "if there is one aspect of the development of a country like Ghana that comes nearest to having a priority over the others, it is neither education nor economics, but politics" is even truer today than the time it was made. See his article, "Observations on the Labor Market in Ghana" in Educational and Occupational Selection in West Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 155.

17. See "Decentralization Committee Set Up." West Africa No. 3456, 7 November, 1983, p. 2594.

18. "People's Congress Next Year." West Africa, No. 3442, 1 August, 1983, p. 1788.

19. This is borne out by the transactions at a recent public hearing organized by the Government on a new budget it had introduced. Some people had questioned the real value of a one-day debate on the budget when the final document had already been prepared and felt they could not influence it. And there still appears to be a low level of awareness among communities that cannot advance popular militancy. Others are of the opinion that the results of the exercise indicate that people are ready to be consulted and that they can now have a "real taste of participatory democracy." See Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill, "Ghana: Discussions on the Budget." West Africa No. 3466, 23 January , 1984, pp. 149-151.

20. See for example R. C. Bone's views in his Et Nos Mutamur: The Future of Teacher Education. Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia, 1970, p. 17.

21. Keith Watson. "Colonialism and Educational Development" in Keith Watson (ed.) Education in the Third World. London: Croom Helm, 1982, p. 40.

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